

# The Month in Review



DEVELOPMENTS IN Communist China, where a giant leap toward the "realization of Communism" is taking place, present an open challenge to the Soviet Union's 40-year-old ideological leadership of the Communist movement, and hence are of immense importance to the future of Eastern Europe. Since 1917, Moscow has been the power center of this movement, as well as its Mecca. Everywhere in the world, but particularly in the East European countries where Soviet-directed Parties gained State power, the Kremlin's ideological monopoly derived not only from the fact that the USSR was the most powerful nation in the orbit—which it still is—but also from the fact that it was at all times ahead in showing the way to the Communist millennium. Total collectivization of the land in Eastern Europe, for instance, was more than an accepted theoretical goal precisely because it was an accomplished fact in the Soviet Union, the first country to have reached this and similar landmarks. Even the more nationalist-minded Communist leaders like Gomulka in Poland always acclaimed the Soviet Union for being the "first"—that is, most "progressive"—among "Socialist" countries. Suddenly and massively China has supplanted the Soviet Union as a pioneer in Communist practice.

Reports from China sound like dispatches from a gigantic battlefield holding a nation in military array. Virtually everyone has been mobilized psychologically—through terror, propaganda and the threat of war—as well as physically. Millions of women have been pressed into service and everywhere men are now busy boosting the national economy by building, almost bare-handed, thousands of local industrial workshops. Key economic targets for this year have been raised, some as much as doubled. The whole country is being made over by the creation of rural communes: collective farms have been abolished as separate entities and amalgamated, together with local trade and industry, into new organizations in which peasants become rural wage earners; nearly all property reverts to the State; living is almost entirely communal, and military organization permeates the whole. Ultimately the use of money is to disappear. This scheme was prescribed in *The Communist Manifesto*, whose authors called for the "establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture," and for the "combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries." The Soviets, whose efforts to create "agricultural cities" have long been delayed, must therefore endorse the move. But in doing so they abdicate their messianic pre-eminence.

The consequent problems will be no less thorny. How, for instance, can the Kremlin explain why it took the Chinese only a very few years to undertake the kind of "correct" transitional stride which they themselves have so far shunned after thirty years of collectivization? Hitherto it was always the Soviet Union which whipped others to follow faster. If now, in unavoidable self-justification, the USSR speaks of "particular circumstances" and points to specific differences between the USSR and China, it automatically opens the door to a revival of the discarded concept of "separate roads to Socialism." In effect, the Soviet Union is cast in the ironic role of a recalcitrant laggard. This in turn is bound to cause trouble in Eastern Europe, where many "liberal" Communists may take advantage of the new opportunities thus presented to claim the right to their own "separate road."

The Poles, long in the forefront, are already beginning to stir. The following comment, for instance, was made in the Warsaw youth journal *Sztandar Młodych* and broadcast over Radio Warsaw on October 1: "This process [of change] is taking place in China, that

is, in a country where people, enjoined by the Party and the government, exterminate spiders and flies with an astonishing sense of discipline, where capitalists attend ideological courses and later give up their factories—this is a fact! . . . There is another aspect which must not be passed over in silence. This is the question of the Chinese Communists' own contribution to the theory and practice of Socialist building. The Chinese Communists, applying criteria of specific suitability and conditions of their own country, confirm once more the correctness of the Leninist thesis of different roads to Socialism." Even more significant was the similar comment made by the Warsaw Stalinist journal *Przyjazn*, the official organ of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Association. On this score Polish liberals, Polish Stalinists and the Soviets seem—of necessity but for different reasons—to be in the same boat.

The liberals among Communists will thus use the new issue for an attack based on the various-roads-to-Socialism idea; the more orthodox will use this same justification for defense of their lagging programs. But as much as possible, the official representatives of the regimes will try to keep silent. It is indeed remarkable how little has been said about the most momentous undertaking in contemporary Communism. Only the barest facts were given, and not a single serious theoretical appraisal has appeared. The practical reason for this reticence is not difficult to guess. Ever since Stalin's death the Soviet Union and the Eastern bloc have tried, within strict limits, to cater to the majority—to the consumers by raising their standard of living, to the peasants by easing off controls. Particularly after the disturbances of 1956, special attention was given to the problem of divorcing ferment within the Party from the general popular discontent which gave this ferment its frightening strength. Generally speaking—except perhaps in Bulgaria where the Party apparently felt stronger than elsewhere—this meant concessions to the peasantry. Even in the Soviet Union, Khrushchev saw fit to bolster collective farms by allowing them to purchase machinery after the dissolution of the MTS. In such countries as Poland and Hungary, the main trouble spots, forced collectivization was abandoned. This go-slow policy is still in force. Total collectivization remains a goal carefully placed in the distant future. To speak of Communization of the peasantry, of making, in effect, State farm workers of the fiercely independent millions in Eastern Europe, might precipitate crises far graver than those of 1956. Small wonder then that papers specifically directed to peasants in the area carry even less news about the Chinese communes than the official Party organs.

Many western observers have long pointed to an inevitable clash between China and the Soviet Union. At present only the seeds of such a dispute have been sown, but they could grow fast—particularly since China's industrial capacity is being developed at a record rate. Sooner or later the Asian power might well outstrip the USSR not only in the daring originality of its program but also in strength. In the meantime, beneath the surface calm, subtle changes may be taking place. It appears, for instance, that the Soviet Union is drawing closer to Poland. A top-ranking Polish Party and governmental delegation was invited to Moscow at the end of October. Its composition and the timing—immediately after a plenary session of the Polish Central Committee—indicate that the Kremlin is now fully reconciled to the present Polish regime. And so it might well be, despite continued differences between Poland and the other countries. According to Gomulka's statements at the Central Committee meeting, the Party's main task is the countryside "elimination of post-revisionist fumes." His strictures on "dogmatists" were milder, even though there is every indication that Stalinists in lower echelons are still a thorn in the Party body. Gomulka now feels strong enough to announce that the long-postponed Party Congress will be held in March 1959.

On the western fringes of the Empire, the struggle against Yugoslav "revisionism" continued unabated. Yugoslavia's two southern neighbors, Albania and Bulgaria, capitalizing on the existence of "their" minorities within the Federal Republic, were the most aggressive. Tito, however, seemed optimistic. He forecast a quick and inevitable end to the onslaught. Conceivably, the Yugoslavs feel that, in the long run, the Soviets cannot afford to contend with two "deviations"—theirs on the right and the Chinese on the left—and will therefore feel compelled in due time to sue for peace.

# A Hungarian Artist in China

By

Jozsef Domjan

*The following are impressions gathered by Mr. Domjan in the course of an extensive trip through China from June to November 1955. Mr. Domjan, who fled from his native Hungary after the Revolt, has won worldwide acclaim for the rare excellence of his woodcuts. Born in Budapest in 1907, the author first specialized in painting, later took up the chisel of the wood-engraver, achieving his best effects in color. His works are to be found in museums and galleries throughout Europe, the U. S. and China. His account of what he saw in the new China is particularly interesting in view of his knowledge of East European Communism, as well as traditional China as reflected in her greatest art.*

IN 1955 THE Ernst Museum in Budapest exhibited my colored woodcuts, and this one-man show led to my being invited to Communist China. The hundred woodcuts I took to the land which, with Japan, is the ancestral home of the woodcutting art, were shown there at 17 exhibitions in all major cities and art centers. I visited the whole of the country, traveling for the most part only with a Chinese interpreter, rather than as a member of an easily controlled delegation. Thus I was able to get to know many artists and to witness what I can only consider the tragic deterioration of Chinese art under Communism.

I might add that my judgment of the situation in the Chinese art world can hardly be dismissed as resentment against adverse official opinion on my work. At the end of my six-month visit, I was awarded the title of "Master of Colored Woodcuts" as well as the seldom-tendered "Grand Prize of Chinese Masters." Moreover, the regime offered me an extremely lucrative five-year contract to remain in the country and teach my art.

## The Journey Begins

To be permitted to accept an invitation to go abroad, to receive a passport, and so forth, takes several months, even when the invitation comes from a Communist State like China. All travel abroad is arranged by KULTINT, the Institute for Cultural Relations, which sees to passports, visas, accommodations and details of the journey. KULTINT, in fact, is a well-organized travel agency, hotel service and counter-espionage apparatus. Under normal circumstances the traveler never knows when he will begin his journey. He is informed only on the day before departure and receives his passport when boarding the plane or train; he is given no foreign currency, since his hosts are supposed to take care of all such needs.

Visits abroad are worked out on a reciprocal basis, and if, for instance, five Chinese come to Hungary on a visit, five Hungarians will go to China for the same period of time. This, of course, makes foreign currency and other problems easier to settle on a reciprocal basis. The traveler is accompanied to the point of embarkation by a KULTINT agent to whom he must hand over his identity card in exchange for his passport. My final instructions were to ask no favors

from the Chinese and to continue my journey without a break until I reached Peiping.

My first stop was Lwow in the Soviet Union—the third largest city of Poland two decades ago—where I had to fill out innumerable forms and where I ran into great difficulties over my woodcuts. Piece by piece they were scrutinized by customs officers who found them decadent, capitalistic and "formalistic." I barely convinced them that I had no intention of taking them into the USSR in order to contaminate Soviet art. The second stop was the Moscow Airport, where I changed to the Irkutsk plane for Eastern Siberia. The planes were two-engined ones for twenty-one passengers. No meals were served on board, all food being eaten along the way at the small, Victorian airport restaurants. There was no after-dark flying; passengers spent the nights in the modest hotels adjoining all airports. On our four-day trip to Peiping we landed every 300 miles for fuel, and if the weather showed the slightest turn for the

Jozsef Domjan, at right, watching the great contemporary Chinese artist Ch'i Pao-shih inscribe a picture to him.

East Europe Photo



worse we stayed put. On each plane there were several empty seats. Most of the passengers were Soviet Army officers.

### *Arrival in Peiping*

I ARRIVED in Peiping in 100-degree-plus heat and was received by an eight-member delegation of the local Cultural Institute and a group of artists. I was billeted at the New Foreigners Hotel in a room with a bath.

Being fond of exploring foreign cities, I immediately ventured out for a walk, but some of my hosts, stationed at the entrance of the hotel, politely though firmly told me not to leave the building. Later I was informed by my interpreter that I could not leave the hotel until my schedule had been arranged. When this had been done, I was taken on carefully guided tours.

Some time afterwards I did manage to get away before my escorts came to pick me up, and I had a wonderful time roaming the streets all by myself, exploring the narrow alleys of the city. I managed to return to the hotel without getting lost—not an easy matter in a Chinese city. The lobby was swarming like a beehive and everyone seemed to be looking for me; even the police were there with a patrol car. I was surrounded and told with great excitement what risks I had been running, how easily I could have been knifed, especially, they added, since I am fair and blue-eyed. Since that time, the implication of my hosts—that many Chinese dislike “white” men, including, of course, the often fair-complexioned Soviet “advisers” and “technicians”—has remained uneasily in my mind. I was interested to note, however, that Soviet citizens in China live completely isolated from the population, in specially assigned hotels with Russian cooks, their own supplies of imported vodka and even Russian doctors to treat them when they are ill.

The prejudice against Europeans is rarely found in artists, some of whom seemed almost on the point of tears—and Chinese seldom reveal their emotions publicly—when they heard I was from Hungary; for them my country stood for the West and the pre-Communist heritage of freedom. I met Chinese artists who had studied in Paris, who had many friends in the Western world. They told me that they were afraid of corresponding with these friends, afraid of reprisals from a regime which sought to keep them sealed off from the world outside.

Peiping has a very “progressive” city administration which apparently is bent on “modernizing” almost everything reminiscent of the past. The beautifully carved and lacquered old gates along the main streets of the city are being demolished, as are many other buildings, historical sites and monuments which interfere with the traffic. The Chinese I knew were appalled at their officials’ lack of artistic sense and perhaps because of the widespread resentment at destruction in the name of progress the Imperial Palace and the Summer Palace areas have been converted—incidentally, in extremely good taste—to museums. Ordinary people frequently visit these museums, and I often saw old men and women with their young grandchildren standing admiringly before an ancient dragon statue of the T’ang Dynasty or a blue enamelled Ming vase. It was oddly touching



to see a peasant woman, fatigued after a day of sightseeing in rooms where the Emperor had lived in solitary splendor, seated on the marble steps of a sacrificial altar, blissfully nursing her baby.

In Peiping, as in all the larger cities, there is an exhibition hall where small-scale models of local industrial plants are displayed along with statistical data purporting to show the future operations of the plants. However, curiously enough, the same exhibition pops up all over China, whether or not there are such plants in the vicinity. Naturally this leads to the suspicion that the exhibits have been ordered in wholesale quantities by a regime more adept at producing spectacles than economic realities.

Although an artist, I was for no good reason taken to a great many factories. On the other hand, technical experts, who were interested in specific kinds of enterprises were not, as a rule, shown them. I visited several factories with Professor Edmund Erkes (non-Communist East German orientalist). He wasn’t interested in them either, and complained sadly that he wanted only to study old books, yet he was “guided” away from the libraries. When he asked for ancient religious books he was shown new Communist propaganda literature. For my part, I visited libraries and leafed helplessly—and harmlessly—through old tomes I could not read. Erkes told me that one of our escorts introduced himself to him as an orientalist; the very same man told me that he was an artist. Erkes and I only looked at each other and immediately knew what sort of a man our “escort” was.

In every plant there is a special room for foreign visitors, with pictures of and framed maxims by Mao Tse-tung on the walls and a table covered with red cloth. Usually a young man greets the visitor and asks whether he is interested in the history of the plant. Even if the answer is negative, the interpreter translates it, “yes,” and commences a long harangue, giving exact data regarding the plant, when it was founded, how destroyed and how rebuilt under Mao’s regime; the young man provides extensive charts and



figures. I took down the data in one plant and found that the very same information was given in every plant I saw all over China. Each report ended by claiming the plant had a huge sanatorium for the workers. If this were true, China would be the leading sanatorium State of the world.

### Backwardness

Manual work continues to play an extremely important role in the Chinese economy. The regime still employs manpower where machines could be used, not only because there are very few machines, but also because mechanization would mean unemployment for millions of people.

For example, there are still many coolies pulling rickshaws and even two-wheel carts which sometimes are loaded with fantastic weights. The construction of these ancient vehicles has not changed in the last 4,000 years. In some instances ten men are hitched to wagons in the same manner as pictured in carvings dating before Christ. The wagons



are extremely difficult to start and stop, and it was heart-rending to see yellow-clad Chinese policemen ordering them halted at crossings so an occasional automobile might pass.

Another means of locomotion is provided by workers carrying two baskets on a single pole, the pole over their shoulders, the baskets balanced at each end. Thousands of Chinese run about the construction works, bridge and housing construction sites and ground levelling projects, carrying burdens in this fashion. They have special carrying techniques, very rhythmical, and they accompany their work with a peculiar humming song. They also carry food to the market in these baskets. No European could lift 160 pounds on his shoulder with such easy grace, but in China transportation is still largely accomplished by manpower. The highways swarm with two-wheeled carts pulled by humans, for very long distances. In the south a few buffalo, mule or donkey-drawn carts can be seen. The Chinese are fully aware of their deprivations, and now are beginning to introduce and employ trucks.

The greatest backwardness is to be found in the field of agriculture. The Chinese peasant cultivates his land by the same methods as did his forefathers 2,000 years ago. Often the plough is made of wood, and he works with a small hand-hoe. For fertilizer he uses human excrement because, supposedly, the soil is so poor that nothing else can enrich it. Therefore human excrement is highly esteemed. Lavatories are not modernized—not even by the richest people—so as to preserve every ounce of the precious stuff. Wooden pails are employed to carry it to the fields, each member of the family transporting a bucketful. In the cities, even in Peiping this business is done at night. It is rather unpleasant to meet such a caravan, when coming home late from the theater. The Chinese are not bothered by the stench; they are used to it, and also they know that the meagre soil simply has to be fertilized. In the hotels there are Western-style lavatories and plumbing, but since there is often no central sewage system each building has a cesspool, and its contents are used in the same traditional way. Many Chinese cannot even imagine that this obsolete and extremely unhygienic method could be eliminated. Doctors fight in vain to put an end to it. I have observed an old Chinese peasant as he was planting seedlings, carefully filling each hole with excrement. I have seen the same methods used all over China. In Canton, the banana trees and the grape vines were fertilized this way. Nothing can be eaten raw here.

All along the narrow side streets of the cities, both in summer and winter, one can see small coal stoves on which large pots full of rice are slowly steaming. Many of the old apartments have no kitchens and the housewives must resort to this method to cook their food. In the new housing projects the problem is solved by allotting one huge communal kitchen to eight or ten apartments, and this, of course, is the source of many quarrels among the tenants, many of whom come from different parts of the country.



Designs by Mr. Domjan based on Hungarian folk elements.  
East Europe Photos

Once I heard a noisy argument; probably the women started it and the men continued, but the moment the disputants saw a stranger they stopped shouting; by the time I reached the group all were smiling as if nothing had happened.

At first I could not figure out where on earth the population of 600 million, one quarter of all humanity, spent the daylight hours. However, when I saw a few Chinese apartment, I found the answer. Ten or a dozen people were crowded into a tiny room; more if the room were a large one. Usually three generations live there together, and there are children everywhere. The furniture is simple and sparse, only the bare necessities. A platform-like bed, a table, a few chests. Despite their poverty, the Chinese are extremely clean and hospitable.

### Schooling

China of today makes great efforts to teach its people to read and write, but has to cope with a massive shortage of schools. Children must attend classes in three shifts, morning, noon and afternoon. I have seen schools where the pupils had to bring small footstools for themselves, and many a latecomer had to sit in the doorway and even in the hall beyond. There were over 80 pupils in one class.

Adults too are studying with great determination, concentrating on the extremely difficult Chinese alphabet. 800 different signs must be learned in order to read the newspaper, for instance. To know how to write is very important in China, since people coming from different parts of this huge country, speaking many dialects, often cannot understand one another.

Life in China is geared to study; apparently everyone strives to learn as much as possible. There are numerous evening courses. Each year approximately 1,000 specialists are invited from the Satellite countries—scientists, engineers, technical experts etc.—to hold lectures, manage specialized factories and, most important of all, to dispense knowledge. I talked to various Czech, Polish and East German engineering experts who informed me that not only technical work was expected from them, but that they were also required to give lectures on their working methods. These lectures met with the approval of the Chinese only if they were long enough. If a lecturer dared to sum up his subject concisely, the Chinese believed they had been cheated. These specialists receive enormous salaries and their assignments may last for several years. I had to hold 36 lectures on colored wood-cutting and Western art and was told that the lectures were very interesting and enlightening, but too short, because they generally lasted only an hour and a half. Every word uttered by the lecturer is taken down by the audience, to be repeated word for word later when the student has become a teacher. My interpreter was a graduate of a Diplomatic Academy, and "learned" so much during the six months we were together, that upon my departure he was appointed to the position of "art expert."

### Surviving Art Forms

In Soochow, the center of Chinese silk weaving, simple peasants create the most delightful silks and silk pictures

# Művelt nép

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A photograph of the opening of a show of Mr. Domjan's works in Shanghai in 1955. The picture appeared in the October 16, 1955 issue of Budapest newspaper *Művelt Nép*, defunct since the Revolt.

imaginable. Here I saw thousand-year-old looms on which the loop is not lifted by the modern Jacquard mechanism but by a weaver sitting on top of the loom using his fingers. The two weavers work in complete harmony directing each other with the lift of an eyebrow. The silks are woven exactly as in the days of Marco Polo.

In Hangchow the silk is woven on modern looms. This 2,000-year-old city is the most beautiful in the country, the Venice of China. Situated on the shores of a huge lake, the city is overlooked by lofty mountains and is itself a huge garden. Flowers, paths lined by palm trees, artificial streams, tiny bridges, garden pavillions are everywhere. The houses are rich with carved red lacquer. All these local scenes are repeated on the silks of Hangchow.

Silk is no longer used for everyday wear as in the past; it is still in use, however, on the stage and in the opera for costumes and also for bookbinding. Occasionally, a beautiful piece of silk is framed like a picture and hung on the wall.

Unfortunately, the making of chinaware has all but stopped altogether, at least on a truly artistic level. Apparently, the beauty and delicacy of the blue china of the Ming period can no longer be attained.

Lacquer carving, a Chinese art for over two thousand years, still exists in China, despite the fact that it calls for

meticulous work and great expenditure of time. Several layers of red lacquer are applied on metal (formerly on wood). Each layer must be completely dry before the application of the next, until the desired thickness is achieved. The more layers, the more valuable the object. The carving is done on these lacquer layers, in geometrical shapes and rich flowery patterns; clouds and dragons, objects of nature and the imagination are cut with great artistry and taste. Happily, the style of jade, wood and ivory carving has not changed.

There is no lack of artistic sense among the ordinary people. In almost every house, one can find a single lotus blossom or a bouquet of wild flowers beautifully arranged in a bamboo vase. There are also paper cut-outs called "window flowers" on the window panes or single artificial flowers the bride has saved from her wedding. Embroideries, hand-loomed materials and window flowers are all made by the women in the Fall, when there is no more work in the fields. The subjects of the window flowers are taken from the lives of the people and from nature: a fish among lotus flowers, all sorts of animals, a frilly-leaved cabbage, a pomegranate, crickets, etc. All these are portrayed in the most delicate and playfully simple way. The fish has for ages been the Chinese symbol of abundance, the dragon represents gaiety, while love, according to old customs, is shown by bashfully courting birds or ducks.

Chinese folk-artists use the simplest tools. They need only a piece of paper and a pair of scissors to make the most delicate window flowers. The white paper windows of North China are all decorated with these, and they look charming. At night they show up most effectively in silhouette against the light inside the house.

Another technique for cutting paper pictures utilizes a sharp pen knife. Several layers of paper are cut simultaneously in beautifully shaped flowers or geometrical patterns or animal or fish shapes. These are often colored with aniline dyes. I have seen richly costumed figurines of the

traditional Peiping Opera on such paper cutouts. These colored patterns are very much in demand at the provincial markets and fairs; they are also used to decorate lanterns, and their motifs are sometimes embroidered on children's garments, on caps and pillows, etc.

## New Year

The New Year is the greatest holiday in China. Homes are festively decorated with lanterns, flower garlands and gaily colored pictures. The use of the *Nien Huas* (New Year pictures) goes back for several centuries, and the Chinese believe that these pictures guard the home from evil spirits. At first the image of the house-guarding spirit was used to prevent evil from entering. Later (627-649) pictures of the good gods were replaced by the pictures of two of Emperor Tai-Tsung's generals. The story goes that the Emperor, a victim of both disease and pessimism at one time in his reign, was guarded by two of his generals against the evil spirits. Subsequently the two were depicted on the New Year cards. In the time of the Ming dynasty, popular heroes appeared on these cards, while under the Manchus the pictures represented folk scenes.

These New Year cards or pictures express the simple people's yearning for happiness and gaiety. Superstition has it that images of carp or of roly-poly children bring abundance and richness. The wedding of mice stands for humor. Other scenes often painted by peasant artists show colorful cocks with many worms and beetles to eat, cats with mice to feed upon, and similar characterizations of the good life.

Unfortunately, this rich source of folk art has dried up. Today it has been replaced by lithographs printed in millions; the themes are propagandistic, for the Communist Party has realized the "possibilities" of these cards.

Simple earthenware pottery is the most used and best-liked ornament of a Chinese home. Four hundred years ago clay deposits were discovered at Usi. These yielded excellent and durable clay and there was no need to bake it, for, when dried, it became solid and hard. Naturally, this locality became a center of the pottery industry. About 150 years ago, it was visited by the Peiping Opera troupe, and the traditional masks of the actors inspired the peasant folk-artists to use the figurines of the classic Chinese opera in their products. They color these clay masks, and even attach hair to them. Children's toys are also made in Usi.

## The Water People

IN THE PORTS of Canton and Shanghai over half a million people live on *dsunkas*, which are large black boats covered with reed mats. These boats provide one of the main sources of transportation and shipping in the country, and they handle the most oddly assorted commodities for distances of 500 or even 1,000 miles. An entire family lives on a boat. The father or mother, using a single oar, poles the heavy vessel with great dexterity. It is very hard and extremely poorly paid work, yet the *dsunkas* are often the only family asset, and the entire family may spend its whole life on one of them.

Abortive efforts were made by the regime to settle the *dsunka* families on land and to force their children to at-



Mr. Domjan, with "guides," examining a Buddha in a Chinese museum.

East Europe Photo



tend school. In the end, however, the authorities had to set up schools amid the *dsunka* fleet; these schools are said to operate with great success.

Aside from the national staple, rice, the food of these people comes almost entirely from the sea. The *dsunka* families fish for a living, as well as carry goods, and they keep "fishing birds" which are trained like falcons for the hunt. Perched on the sides of the boats, the birds make a lovely picture as they scan the waters and then swoop on their prey.

Once I went sailing with an old fisherman on the Yellow Sea and witnessed his trained birds catching three-foot fish, while the old man merely sat smiling and stroking his beard. In shallow waters he signalled to one of the older birds who immediately began teaching her offspring the art of fishing. The young birds faithfully imitated their mother, and after awhile were able to catch several small fish by their own efforts; following this happy event, the entire bird family broke into happy twitters.

### Women, Love and Death

CHINESE WOMEN, especially in the South, take active parts not only in family life, but also in doing the heavy work side-by-side with their men. In fact, the men



A woodcut by Mr. Domjan.

East Europe Photo

very often look on quite passively, while the women perform some laborious task. Women often tie their babies on their backs when at work.

Despite their outward lack of emotion, Chinese women are not strangers to sentiment. In the evenings after working hours, the parks are always filled with courting couples. The girls sometimes have flowers in their hair, but otherwise adorn themselves very little. They do not wear lipstick; indeed cosmetics are seldom found anywhere in China. I was told that Chinese girls enjoy long complicated love stories, and that their swains have great success with such tales.

As a rule, the Chinese marry very young and the first babies come quickly. They are very discreet about sex, however, and show a great reserve in public. The same prudishness prevails in the operas, plays, films and magazines. Kissing is almost never shown on the stage or movies, in fact the Chinese seldom kiss; they touch noses in moments of tenderness. I once attended a film-show at which new Hungarian movies were shown to a selected audience. Most of the audience loudly objected to the kissing scenes despite the fact that Hungarian films are prudish enough nowadays. Because of a few chaste kisses, the Chinese banned the pictures.

One of the scenes of a traditional opera shows a general in his tent, after a lost battle. His troops are surrounded by the enemy, and only death awaits him. His mistress is present, and she, refusing to belong to any other man, kills herself. Previously, however, we listen to them take leave of each other for an hour and a half, yet they are never nearer one another than 10 feet.

### Religion

Despite strong political pressure religious feeling has not been killed in the population, even though religious orders were dissolved and the monks forced into lay occupations. Formerly, there were colonies of 10,000 to 15,000 priests connected with some of the old temples. Nowadays there are only five or ten left to take care of the buildings. However, the regime could not close all the temples and shrines. There continues to be a deep-rooted religious feeling in the Chinese, even in their "progressively" educated youth.

I went into the cave-like sombre temples alone, since my escorts did not dare to enter. They were unable to give me a real explanation, but I suspected they feared the vengeance of the gods. I visited every temple I could, being interested from the artistic as well as the religious point of view in their rich carvings, statues and murals. The majority of the temples have been turned into "historic" national museums. It was more difficult to gain access to the few still actively operating as temples, but with the aid of local artists I managed to do so. I found these always full of worshippers, not only women and children, but also men in great numbers, young and old, lighting incense sticks at the altars. At an old church in Shanghai, seers, sorcerers, quacks and beggars thronged the entrance. There were fortune tellers offering to predict the future by reading palms, or deciphering horoscopes.

Traditional customs and superstitions follow the Chinese





A woodcut by Mr. Domjan.

East Europe Photo

child from the cradle through marriage and to his death. I did not see one Western-style cemetery in the country. Everybody is interred in his own land near the graves of his ancestors. Sometimes the people carry their dead far from the city to distant places. There are eight to ten pallbearers—if the deceased was a man of means—who carry the coffin on poles. These pallbearers are dressed in pale blue; drums, also covered with pale blue material, are beaten in stately rhythm. The next of kin are dressed in white, the color of mourning. At the outskirts of the city the more wealthy put the coffin on a truck and ride along beside it. The journey may last for several days; it does not end until the corpse has reached the land of his ancestors. The poorer people transport their dead on two-wheeled carts. All along the railroad lines one can see mounds under the trees, the burying grounds of several generations.

### *A Great Figure in Chinese Painting*

THE PROFESSIONAL ARTISTS of the ancient Chinese arts, painters, sculptors and wood-cutters, worked on very traditional lines. They had their set ideas—indeed, one might term them clichés—for the painting of, for example, reeds in the wind, a rock-lined brook, a solitary boat on a

moonlit lake. The stroke of the brush, the color to be used, even the movement with which the painting had to be executed, was prescribed. In general, nobody wanted or expected anything original from the artists.

The work of the truly great artists, however, is easily distinguished by the subtlety of line and technique. In early times, the noble simplicity of their pictures required no critical interpretation, for they represented only what was physically shown, such as a bird or a blossoming branch. Little by little the art has become more abstract, and the lines have taken on modern artistic rhythms.

Ch'i Pai-shih is the greatest contemporary name in Chinese art. He was 98 years old when I met him. He lived in three tiny rooms. His food consisted of tea, a few dry crackers and salad greens. The Chinese government bends considerable efforts to publicize Ch'i and his work, presumably because it wishes to capitalize on his fame and to prove that his traditional style is still allowed. This policy is also good for China; a special woodcutting studio reproduces his works and those of other, similarly traditional artists for wide sale. The hand-carved wooden blocks are colored and printed, also by hand, by the twenty carvers and thirty printers of the plant, who work with amazing speed. Books, too, and printed scrolls of Ch'i's work are also produced for mass sale. The income from these enterprises, however, goes in full to the State. Ch'i Pai-shih got none of the profits, nor had he any voice in the business. The workers in the studio-plant are extremely skilled artisans, who reproduce the masterworks with great precision and turn out really valuable copies.

I visited Ch'i Pai-shih on two occasions, and the old patriarch told me his life story. His family had been extremely poor. In his youth, he was a cowherd and collected the dry cowdung for fuel. At the age of fourteen he became a cabinet worker's apprentice, primarily because field work was too heavy for him. He carried his tools in a small basket along with his brushes and paint. At night, after his day's work was done, he practiced painting by the light of an oil lamp. He painted everything he saw, and by the time he was twenty had already achieved a reputation as an artist. He made up for his lack of education by studying at home, reading classic poetry; he also wrote poems and studied the lives of great men. Particularly, he observed the lotus flowers, the opening of the buds and the fall of the leaves. He also wandered over the countryside. When finally he settled down, he planted fruit-trees and kept birds and insects; thus he acquired his unique knowledge of entomology and botany.

For years he observed the activities of crabs and insects in the water, and in his pictures he gives us his simplified version of the life cycle. His waterspiders are immortalized by poetic and rhythmic lines. His chickens fighting over a worm reflect his humor. Another of his pictures shows a morning glory, the web of its tendrils dramatically contrasting with its heavy foliage.

The subjects of his pictures, his workmanship and strong use of line, his large splashes of color, are quite reminiscent of Matisse. One of his works, for instance, showing pomegranates in black and yellow, is so modern in execution, so free in design, as to be almost unrecogniz-

able as to subject; it is, of course, the balance of color values which makes it a masterpiece. This painting might truly be classed as one of the forerunners of abstract art.

### Art and Politics

Another prominent artist, Ku Yuan, is at the opposite pole of Chinese art. Although Ch'i Pai-shih is considered outmoded and old-fashioned—though “useful”—by the Communists, from the European point of view he is quite contemporary. On the other hand, Ku Yuan, who is considered “modern” by the Chinese Communists, has nothing new to say to the Westerners in the field of art. He works according to Party instructions, and, what is worse, his art is permeated by ideology. He uses an obsolete, cliché-ridden technique, and aside from Socialist-realism his only other influence appears to be 18th century German woodcuts. His work is not only propagandistic, but also photographic. Of course, it is reproduced and circulated over the country in the millions.

At the art schools, young artists are forced to copy Ku Yuan's style and methods, because this—and not Ch'i Pai-shih's traditional, yet modern art—fits into the plans of the Party. Indeed, these two artists symbolize China today: the several thousand year old past with all its tradition and beauty; the modern, ambitious “progressiveness.” The gap between the two cannot be bridged. The trend is to conceal the past with a dense, impenetrable bamboo curtain, but the past cannot be conquered or annihilated in China, although in the field of art the regime can be credited with some “success.” The 300 year old New Year cards which abound in ideas and daring are in pointed contrast to the trite, lithographed products of today, and show a very real decline of pure art. Likewise, a contemporary oil, done after the Russian example, cannot stand comparison with a gloriously resplendent, golden-hued painting from the Manchu Dynasty. Besides, oil as a medium has been, until recently, unknown in Chinese art, and contemporary regime painters somehow cannot master the technique. Were they permitted to get acquainted with oil gradually, to learn to like it and to use it as they prefer, then perhaps good oil painting would follow. Instead, oil painting has been forced upon Chinese artists; they must paint huge canvasses in the style called Socialist realism, which in the end amounts to nothing more

### It Must Be Moved

THE CHINESE LIKE to talk about the stubborn strength of their will. There is a famous painting of a Chinese legend which tells of an old man trying to move a mountain, stone by stone with his bare hands, so that his village will have a beautiful view. When people ridicule him for taking on such an impossible task, he replies, “If not I, then my sons, their sons and their sons after them will move the mountain, but it must be moved.” The Chinese often tell this story when difficulties arise.



A Chinese propaganda poster. The legend reads: “Let us harvest every grain of wheat.”

East Europe Photo

than prettified, naturalistic duplication. Their discomfort can easily be felt in their pictures.

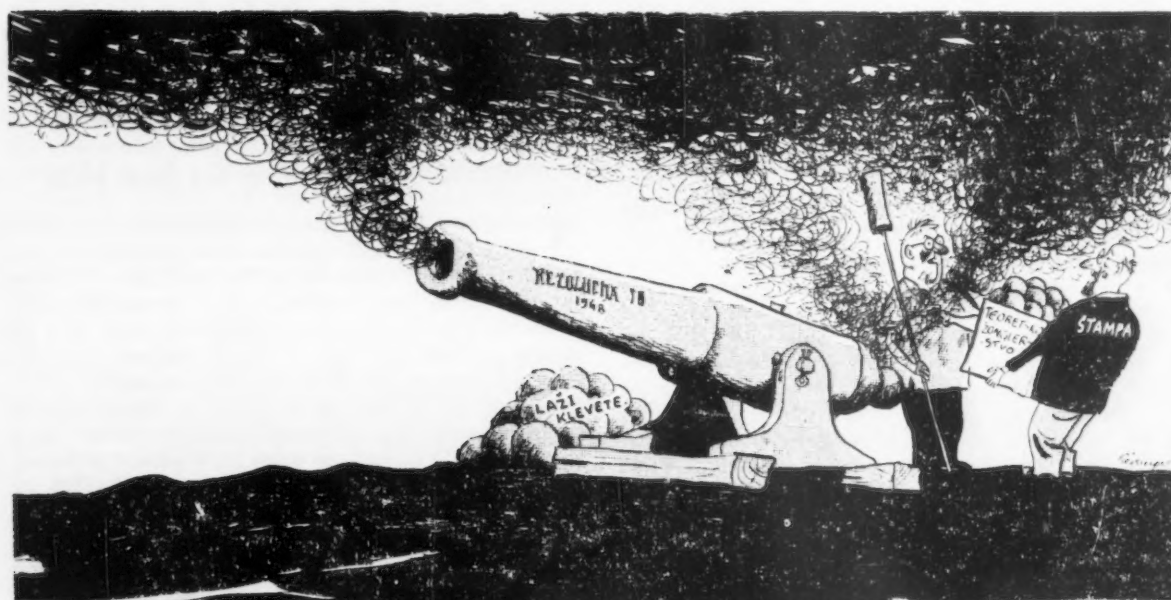
Art will not be improved by ideological phrases. In Communist Hungary, too, there has been a decline in art. Yet the situation is different in China, for in Hungary naturalism had a past, a tradition. In my country, it was only necessary to turn back the clock a hundred or so years, not such a difficult feat, especially for the untalented average artist. Chinese artists have more trouble with oil painting, since they do not know the technique and have no naturalist traditions, and thus no roots, to draw on. They are extremely able copyists, however, and have made a start with plain copying. I saw a huge collection of copies of extremely bad contemporary Soviet pictures. Would it not have been better to copy Rembrandt or Titian?

Chinese art, as it exists today, is completely corrupt. Alien and forcibly imposed methods have brought the traditional greatness of Chinese artistry into decline. Serious artists in the country are aware of this fact, but helpless and completely unable to rid themselves of their Soviet-trained art “advisers.” In my opinion, Chinese art, as well as the Chinese nation, will regain greatness only by steady progress toward two goals: toward the past in an intelligent selection of the best of the cultural and humanistic heritages of the country and a return to the inexhaustible sources of folklore, to the lost path of the ancient ink drawings, New Year cards and paper cut-outs; toward the future in a renewal of freedom for the artist and for the people.

# China Through Yugoslav Eyes

## Recent Reports from Peiping

*The foregoing account by Mr. Domjan describes some of the characteristic features of the struggle between new and old in China, of the impact of Communist theory and practice on a venerable culture and its gracious customs. Following Mr. Domjan's visit there occurred a brief pause now known as the ill-fated "hundred flowers" campaign. Then, early this year, the country was suddenly whipped into a new frenzy of activity, into a breathless rush up the steepest and highest pinnacles ever assigned to a nation under Communism. The rate of projected industrial growth was sharply raised; a revolutionary leap was undertaken in the creation of nationwide rural communes; all dissent was stilled and the strictest orthodoxy imposed; and the West was provoked in the Formosa Straits. In short, the designs seem so ambitious, so gigantic and aggressive that they overshadow Stalin's parallel drive in the early thirties. Unfortunately there are relatively few eyewitnesses reporting these momentous events to the outside world. Yugoslavia, however, has been able to retain her correspondents in Peiping, even though the Tito government is now reviled daily in China for its alleged "revisionism." The following are excerpts from recent dispatches from China to Yugoslavia; they are particularly revealing because of their mixture of Western attitudes and Communist appraisal as applied to specific situations and developments in China and tell a great deal about the substance and tone of Chinese life today.*



Title: "The Offensive." The cannon is labeled "1948 [anti-Yugoslav Cominform] Resolution"; the pile of ammunition is marked "Lies and Slanders"; the man labelled "The Press" is carrying more ammunition marked "Theoretical Juggling." Caption: "We will not lack ammunition." A Yugoslav slap at its orthodox Communist critics, led by China.

*Vjesnik (Zagreb), September 14, 1958*



## Professional Repentance

NEWSPAPERS recently published the news that 80 percent of the professors at Peiping University had decided to be re-educated, to become "intellectuals of the working class," "Red Socialists." They are now writing hundreds of statements for bulletin boards, articles for the daily press, and they appear at mass meetings and criticize themselves. This is how they do it:

Professor of chemistry Fu Yin: "My ideological mistakes have had a negative influence on students." The Dean of the Historical Section of the Faculty of Philosophy: "I shall regret my bourgeois ideology. Let historical science serve the class struggle, Socialism, patriotism, internationalism and peace in the world." . . . Professor of medicine Hu Chen-sian: "Earlier during the movement for ideological reform I thought that it was carried out too violently and that it offended my personal dignity. I am now aware that it is destroying my service to interests of American Imperialism."

They all show the same kind of repentance. . . . Many professors are now taking the texts of their lectures to be checked by members of Party committees at universities or by instructors who are "more mature politically." . . .

The papers now gladly point to new manifestations among professors. One of them, a man over fifty, who previously had never been an athlete, can now often be seen on the sports fields. How come? they wonder. He replies enthusiastically: "I am now very confident in the future and I feel younger after having been re-educated. I want to be strong and to serve the motherland another thirty years." . . .

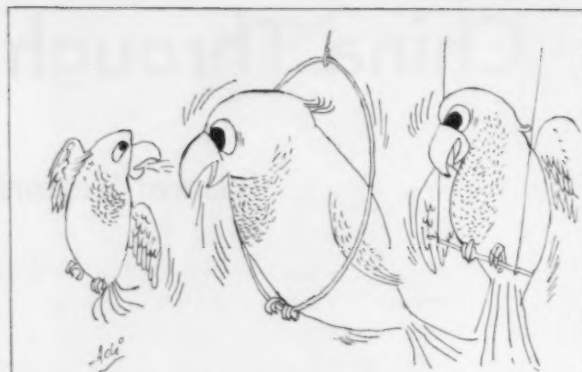
Judging from the items in the press, there are now plenty of such wonderful examples of the fruitful ideological re-education of the intelligentsia.

Djordje Bogojevic, from Peiping, *Borba* (Belgrade),  
July 6, 1958

## "Opposition to Political Aims"

AFTER A NUMBER of extensive meetings and discussions, the Party committee of the Union of Chinese Writers censured the prominent writer and former Deputy Editor-in-Chief of the literary journal "People's Literature" Chin Chao Jang. According to the long communique published in this connection in today's press, Chin Chao Jang has been accused of "hoisting the white flag of revisionism" in Chinese literary and artistic circles, of "opposition to the Party leadership and control" in the sphere of literature and art, "systematic spreading of revisionist ideas in literature and art," "opposition to set political aims in literature and art," "libelous assertions that the Chinese writers had no freedom whatever" in creating their works, of appealing to writers to "doff their dogmatist attire," and of a whole series of other sins. . . . The Party committee of the Union of Chinese Writers condemned him not only as a dangerous revisionist . . . but also as a strong rightist and anti-Party element in the ranks of the Chinese CP. . . .

The most prominent representative of this group [of recently accused authors] is the well-known writer Ting Ling,



Yugoslav irony aimed at its Soviet-bloc critics: one parrot to the others, "Comrades, let the struggle against revisionism be directed by principle."

*Oslobojenje* (Sarajevo), September 7, 1958

whose works once received the highest awards. . . . Feng Hsuen Feng, former director of the publishing house "New Literature," has also been condemned as a bourgeois rightist and Party renegade. . . . Among those condemned is also author Liou Shao Tang who "spread revisionist libels that the world of contemporary Chinese literature was full of patterns and dogmatism with empty contents and almost without any attractive force." [The same applies to] the author Chen Yung according to whose rightist conceptions "dogmatism is the main characteristic of the Party leadership in literature and art in China."

All these writers, as well as a number of other writers such as Wu Ou Kwang, Chen Chi Hsia, Ai Ching, Che Ming, Huan Chiou Tun, etc., have been branded and condemned as bourgeois rightists, revisionists, anti-Party and anti-Socialist elements. . . .

*Tanjug*, from Peiping, *Politika* (Belgrade), July 13, 1958

## 300,000 Sanctioned, or the Deaf Hear

ACCORDING to official estimates, the number of . . . "bourgeois intellectuals" together with members of their families amount to some five million in China. . . . When the drive for the "improvement of style" started this spring, when the Chinese Communist Party did away with the slogans on "free and open criticism," . . . and when this campaign was translated in less than one month into a fierce and lasting anti-rightist action, it was established that a vast majority of all unmasked and condemned "bourgeois rightists"—probably as many as 90 percent of them—were intellectuals, or rather educated persons. They included a fair number of those intellectuals who were already considered re-educated. . . .

According to official data, at least 300,000 persons have been subjected to . . . sanctions, and this campaign is still being waged more or less intensively today. . . .

At a meeting the journalists heard—as a particularly convincing proof of the results of the last campaigns for the re-education of Chinese intellectuals—the example of



a prominent Chinese scientist. This scientist was educated in the West and was so deep in bourgeois ideology and so far from the working people and simple men that for the last fifteen years he had not been on speaking terms with his father-in-law. However, the re-education campaign changed this scientist so much that he even started speaking to his father-in-law. The success of the campaign, far from being attenuated, is actually enhanced by the fact that the scientist's father-in-law was born deaf.

Branko Bogunovic, from Peiping, *Politika* (Belgrade),  
July 13, 1958

## 10,000 Small Iron Works

AT WHAT SPEED the country should proceed in the further building up of the economy, whether maximal efforts and constant prodding . . . are justified or whether, in view of the economic, cultural, technological and other backwardness of China, it is better to take a more gradual road at slower speed—this is the current question along with the fierce campaign against "Yugoslav revisionism." . . .

An answer to this question was given at the Eighth Congress of the Party . . . and a more concrete version of this line was formulated in terms of a task to "catch up with all capitalist countries in a relatively short time," so that China should become "one of the most progressive, richest and strongest countries in the world." Or better said, that "Chinese industry should outdo British industry in fifteen years or even sooner," that in ten years "Chinese agriculture should surpass the agriculture of all capitalist countries" and also in ten years that "Chinese science and technology should reach the highest level in the world." . . .

Probably one of the most typical features of the scope and tempo of the present great flurry is the recently-passed decision . . . to build within the next twelve months 10,000 new small iron works which could produce altogether an additional 20 million tons of iron annually. It is probable that among these 10,000 new plants there will be a fair number of midget smelteries, maybe even simple larger blacksmiths' shops, but the very directive that, in the course of one year, an additional twenty million tons of iron must

be obtained—and primarily from local resources and through the use of local investments—sufficiently points to the trend and tempo of the forced building now going on.

In connection with this trend the papers are full of daily reports from all parts and appeals from the highest places to the effect that the speed of building should be stepped up. . . .

This constantly increased tempo is already reflected in the demands for prolonging the official eight-hour working day and in postponing the introduction of paid annual leaves for workers and employees for at least another three years. "The State is not opposing the wish of the workers to increase the eight-hour working day to ten hours," it complies with . . . the wish of the working people . . . to get out of backwardness . . . as soon as possible. Accordingly, the efforts of the working people must continue to be increased for a longer period to come, working hours must exceed the usual limits, the question of annual leaves and other privileges . . . are not yet on the agenda. . . .

By the way, it is just that constant increase of efforts and stepped up development that represents the main characteristic of the adopted "general line." To all those who had some objections to this line and speed of development, the Eighth Congress replied with the categorical censure that they were "rightists" and revisionists and that they failed to understand that "China disposes of the most creative forces in the world." Compared with that force, "compared with great China and the Socialist camp headed by the USSR, what are the United States and Great Britain, what is the entire Imperialist bloc?" wonders the Party organ *Jen Min Jih Pao* in an editorial. Answering this question, the paper promptly replies: "Actually nothing but mere dwarfs." . . .

Branko Bogunovic, from  
Peiping, *Politika* (Belgrade), July 20, 1958

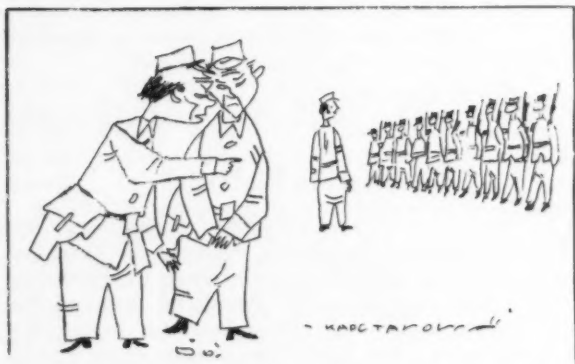
## The Dancing Dispossessed

IN THE SPHERE of political activities, one of the main topics is still the continued search for "right-wing elements." And such elements have been found for some time past in almost all walks of life—from the highest State institutions and Party Committees in provinces to various democratic parties and professional organizations.

Thus, the newspapers say that the rector of Peiping University, Ma Yin-chou, one of the most prominent economic experts in China—who had earlier been criticized in the press and at public meetings on the grounds that his books about the economic situation and population of China "were not in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and the general Party line"—now writes articles in which he criticizes his previous academic stands. . . .

Recently, the First Secretary of the Party Committee of Inner Mongolia made a speech to leading personalities in the ranks of lamas. He told them that today lamas must support Socialism "with their ideology, thoughts and actions." . . .

Newspapers recently wrote that "in view of the demands put forward by homeowners on a mass scale" it was de-



"That Li Fu must be carefully watched; it's the third time this morning he ordered 'eyes right.'"  
*Oslobodjenje* (Sarajevo), August 31, 1958

cided to place their houses under State administration. After that decision had been made public, under the provisions of which homeowners would be entitled to receive only some twenty percent of their previous revenues, the majority of them, the newspapers assert, danced and rejoiced in the streets welcoming the new decision. . . .

Djordje Bogojevic from  
Peiping, *Borba* (Belgrade), August 10, 1958

### An Earthy Couple

THE YEARS of the new system in China have brought about many changes in the conceptions of life and the lives of individuals and this in turn has led to a gradual change in the application of ancient customs. True, the centuries-old, deeply rooted traditions are resisting stubbornly, but this does not prevent the new manifestations from spreading slowly. . . .

The "Birthday of the Spirits" has been celebrated in many places in the southern part of the province of Fukien for many centuries. This day was celebrated by the people, all sorts of ceremonies took place, sacrifices were made in order to appease the gods and of course they did not work on that day. All that has gone—the peasants work on that day as on any other day.

After all, when peasants also work on Sundays and even on the greatest national holiday, the New Year, for the sole purpose of increasing agricultural production as much as possible, why should they not work on some unimportant holidays? . . .

The marriage of two members of a peasant working collective in the district of Ninchin, province of Hopeh, was quite unusual—not at all according to the old customs and ceremonies.

In the first place, the cart which brought the bride to the wedding place was decorated with three red slogans: on the right, "Marriage on principles of hard work and austerity: down with old customs!" On the left, "Let us establish a new rule: present to the bride and the bridegroom their own earnings in the collective!" And right in front, the current politico-economic slogan, "The household should be managed on principles of hard work and austerity!" The bridal cart was overloaded with sickles, spades, hoes and other agricultural implements.

The bride got down from the cart in a quite simple and modest everyday dress, but over her breast there was a red ribbon and rose.

"Look," said the onlookers admiringly, "this is real austerity. She did not even put on her new dress!"

"She didn't have time," somebody else replied, "instead, she was working in the field when the cart came to get her."

"Yes, that is indeed a true bride," said the bridegroom's grandfather contentedly. "My grandson also arrived just now from the fields, in response to the beating of the wedding drums."

It was a real merry wedding, the people said. And when the guests departed the bride and bridegroom took their spades and went to work in the fields in order that their

marriage should not be to the detriment of the collective.

The papers write quite frequently about such and similar manifestations, obviously intending to popularize them and replace old customs as soon as possible.

Djordje Bogojevic, from  
Peiping, *Borba* (Belgrade), July 27, 1958

### "Jumps into Orbit"

IT HAS BECOME the common practice of Chinese propaganda to show all important events, foreign and domestic, . . . graphically on shops and facades of Chinese towns. . . .

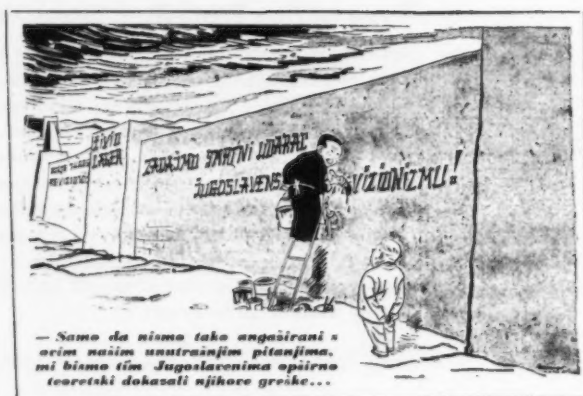
At the Peiping railway station which, like all railway stations in the world, is overcrowded day and night, almost the whole front of the building is covered by a giant horseman and horse in a supernatural jump. The rider holds a Chinese national flag, and the jump of his horse is so great that the entire composition could be called "a jump into orbit." This explosive poster certainly symbolizes "the great jump forward," the catchword under which the masses are moved to exert greater efforts to make even mightier jumps in all fields of life in China. But this symbol of great trends and ambitions in contemporary China is expressed not only on the facade of Peiping's railway station. On many other buildings along Peiping's avenues fierce horses and enthusiastic riders of present-day China fly through the clouds. Their jumps into orbit are as if they were being drawn to unreachable heights, ever further from the earth from which they took off.

In contrast to this kind of poster, Peiping also features decorations of a quite different character. These posters are about the Anglo-American military intervention in the Middle East and about the Arab peoples' struggle for national independence and freedom. The most important elements of these pictures are blood-stained axes and knives, blood-stained hands up to the elbows, bloody wolf jaws, and a paraphernalia of slaughtering instruments and cruel equipment depicting the slaughtering nature of American Imperialism in particular and Western Imperialism in general. On the other hand, when the poster is devoted to the present weaknesses and actual power of the Western bloc, it features some degenerate dwarf-like, insect-like inhuman creature—stunted dwarfs in American or British uniforms—being crushed underfoot. . . .

Branko Bogunovic, from  
Peiping, *Politika* (Belgrade), August 10, 1958

### "Inveterate Rightists"

ALL PEIPING papers today published reports about the latest decision of the plenary session of the Executive Committee of the All-Chinese Trade Union Confederation relieving four members of the Presidential Board of the Confederation of all their official functions. Among the punished leaders, Chen Yung Wen, member of the Executive Committee, member of the Presidential Board of the Confederation and former editor of the official Trade Union organ, was most severely blamed.



The signs on the Chinese wall read "Down with Yugoslav revisionism," "Long live the [Socialist] camp" and "We will strike Yugoslav revisionism a deadly blow!" Caption: "If we were not so busy with our own internal problems we would prove to the Yugoslavs their theoretical sins."

*Vjesnik (Zagreb), July 13, 1958*

The decisions of the Plenum say that Chen Yung Wen is an inveterate rightist and a thorough revisionist who smuggled himself into the revolutionary movement and had been conducting an anti-Party, anti-people's policy for many years. . . .

The decision about the exposure and punishment of these four Chinese leaders also stressed that the Plenum "had exposed and criticized . . . some other leading Trade Union officials who wanted to take over authority from the Government and the Party, who propagated [the notions of] workers' self-development and illegally changed the Party's policy within the workers' movement." . . .

*Tanjug, from*

Peiping, *Borba* (Belgrade), August 13, 1958

## 1,800,000 Persons Checked

UNDER THE HEADLINES "Great Achievements in the Uprooting of the Counterrevolution" and "All Counter-revolutionaries Eliminated," Peiping papers carry on their front pages reports on the just-ended annual conference of the Chinese forces of national security. In these reports it is pointed out that the security forces under the leadership of the Party . . . had achieved "great success in the struggle for the liquidation of the counterrevolution in China," and that this was a victory of historical significance. . . .

During the campaign, as was stressed by the Minister of Security Lo Yui Ching in his article in the magazine *Teachings*, more than 100,000 counterrevolutionaries and right wing sympathizers had been discovered and exposed "in the ranks of ordinary revolutionaries," that is, among personnel in State administration; 5,000 were discovered among membership of the Communist Party of China and 3,000 within the Chinese Youth Federation. According to the same article 220 "unreliable people" were discovered in the highest bodies of the central government. During

the campaign "300 small cliques and 3,600 active special agents" were discovered, and about 1,800,000 people interrogated and thoroughly checked. . . .

*Tanjug, from Peiping,*

*Borba* (Belgrade), August 22, 1958

## The Castrated Cock

NOT SO LONG AGO, only last year, in talking to foreigners visiting their country, even the highest-placed Chinese leaders very often and very modestly stressed the great economic and cultural backwardness of their country, pointing out that . . . the most important task was to "clothe and feed the immense population."

Now, however, that basic task has been replaced by new, grandiose tasks and aims: within the shortest possible time, within only a decade, China should catch up with or surpass the capitalist countries in agricultural and industrial production, and her science and technology should be the greatest in the world. . . .

Consequently, assertions are often made that China has already reached the highest level, or is about to reach it, in one branch of the economy or another . . . that she is already producing, or will soon produce, one kind of commodity or another which is "of the best quality in the world."

Thus, for example, it has been stated that the "most powerful" high frequency transistor was produced in China, that this transistor "surpasses by far the most powerful transistor produced in the United States," and this proves that China "has reached the highest level in the sphere of semi-conductors."

Some of the teleindicator appliances also "surpass the latest achievements in Britain and the United States." In the sphere of geology, analysis of ores is possible "six times faster than in the United States." In the textile industry, a new carding machine for dressing wool "surpasses all the present world standards." . . .



A Yugoslav attack on the Hungarian execution of Nagy and his comrades. Title: "Thesis on Revisionism." Caption: "I don't know why they are surprised that in our country theoretical propositions are proved with an axe."

*Vjesnik (Zagreb), June 26, 1958*



Great prominence is given to reports that in the production of silk China has already reached first place in the world. . . .

Also, it is alleged that China is manufacturing the best accordions, even better than those made in Italy, that within a year or two fountain pens will be produced equal in quality to the "Parker" pens, and bicycles superior to the British "Raleighs."

Recently, . . . it was stressed that China has surpassed the United States in the production of wheat, and that she is now the second largest producer in the world. . . .

The most interesting, and possibly unique, record in the world was scored by China, where it is alleged that on one farm a cock was castrated and intoxicated, and then placed to sit on eggs in the place of a hen. [It was discovered that] when the cock sobers up three days later, he continues to sit on the eggs, and even if he refuses to sit on the eggs, he easily gains weight and has stronger feathers—and all this is of course said to be very useful in the promotion of the development of Socialist agricultural estates.

Djordje Bogojevic, from  
Peiping, *Borba* (Belgrade), August 24, 1958

### "Struggle for Steel"

FOR SOME DAYS past the Chinese press has been waging an intensive campaign for the fulfillment of the production plan for steel this year. Under striking headlines like "Every drop of sweat means a ton of steel" and "Time is no longer reckoned in weeks and months but minutes and seconds," the newspapers call on the working class and the entire Chinese nation to accomplish this year's steel production plan.

This plan, as formulated at the All-China Congress in February, stipulated an output of 6,300,000 tons of steel. Already in March, in the course of the campaign, this target was raised to 7,000,000 tons. In June, all papers published the news that, during 1958, some 200 smaller-type steel mills with a capacity of 10,000,000 tons would be built in the interior of China . . . It was also stressed that a number of these newly-built steel works would begin to work this year and that their production would amount to at least one million tons of steel a year. That, together with the previously mentioned 7 million tons, would amount to a production of 8 million tons of steel in 1958. . . .

The papers do not cite concrete figures, but on the basis of last year's calculations . . . in the first half of this year about 3,400,000 tons of steel were produced. This . . . means that another 4,600,000 tons or 60 percent of total annual planned output remains to be produced. . . . Party Secretaries in their provinces personally lead the "struggle for steel." \*

Tanjug from  
Peiping, *Politika* (Belgrade), August 29, 1958

\* The target for 1958 was subsequently again raised to a grand total of 10.7 million metric tons.

### Three Million Protest

ALL PEIPING papers paid maximum attention in today's issues to the big meeting which took place yesterday in the capital's principal square . . . and similar meetings held in all large towns . . . protesting American interference in the internal affairs of China. *Jen Min Jih Pao* devoted all its eight pages to this question, even on the cultural page where distinguished poets and writers published poems in honor of yesterday's meeting. All reports today mentioned the figure of three million participants at yesterday's meeting in Peiping, a correction of yesterday's estimate of two million participants. . . .

Tanjug, from  
Peiping, *Borba* (Belgrade), September 9, 1958

### Dead: 1,510,000,000 Rats

ON THE BASIS of a decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, published in all the Peiping papers, the campaign for the extermination of flies, rats, sparrows and mosquitoes will be stepped up. Commenting on this decision of the Central Committee, *Jen Min Jih Pao* states in its editorial that important results had been achieved in the struggle against the "four evils" in China. The paper says further that in a similar, former campaign over 1,510,000,000 rats, over 1,550,000,000 sparrows, more than 74 million kilos of flies and over 8,600,000 kilos of mosquitoes had been destroyed throughout China. . . .

Tanjug, from Peiping,  
*Borba* (Belgrade), September 14, 1958

### Military Organization: People's Communes

IN ADDITION to the Taiwan crisis, and the convulsive battle for steel, the movement to create the so-called people's [rural] communes has grown into the most noteworthy event in the Chinese press and Chinese propaganda in general.

According to data published on September 24 by all Chinese papers, about 10,000 people's communes with a membership of nearly 40 million peasant farms, or more than 30 percent of all peasant farms throughout the Chinese People's Republic, have been established up to now.\*\*

It was stressed in all publications issued up to date that the basic method of creating people's communes was the integration of several peasant-workers' cooperatives into larger territorial productive units, with the proclaimed objective of abolishing all personal property and introducing military organization into the life and work of commune members. . . .

According to present directives and descriptions of achievement, the territory of the people's communes now corresponds, on the average, with the territory of the former local administrative units; and the former local councils and Party Committees are automatically transformed into the administrative councils or Party Committees of the people's communes.

It is stressed in the current documents and accounts  
(Continued on page 27)



# The Fading Flame

The previous installments described the growing curtailment of press freedom, such as the banning of *Po Prostu*, the character of the leading dailies, the policy of the weekly *Polityka*, and the growing popularity of non-Party papers.

## Literary Publications

AS A GROUP, the literary papers in Poland played the largest role in preparing the ground for ferment and the October changes. The most profound influence was

exerted by the Warsaw weekly *Nowa Kultura*, in whose columns the seeds of the writers' rebellion were sown. As far back as March 1955, *Nowa Kultura* printed an article entitled, "It Seems That This is the Beginning," describing the atmosphere in the country as a struggle between the "old" and the "new." In April of the same year, it carried a piece calling for the end of Stalinism under the title "Closer to Lenin," and in August 1955, it published Adam Wazyk's famous "A Poem for Adults" which blasted contemporary Polish reality.



O kilku aspektach niedyplomatycznie

W

**Przegląd kulturalny**

STOWARZYSZENIE KULTURALNO-SPOŁECZNE CENA 2,70 DROBIEJ 1,75 1958 r. 25 zł



**PODRÓŻ na „Santa Teresie”**  
WIOŁOSŁAW JONCZYŃSKI

**MIASTO GORZÓW**  
WITOLD ZALEWSKI

Zaskakujące wydarzenia  
SERGIUSZ GONCZEN

Z

Front pages of two very prominent cultural weeklies. Left, *Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), August 3, 1958; right, *Przegląd Kulturalny* (Warsaw), June 19, 1958. The first page of *Nowa Kultura* contains a fairly objective account of life in Silesia's newly built Nowe Tychy; two poems by a brilliant, young non-Communist who died during the Warsaw uprising; and, at bottom, an article on the French poet Apollinaire. Inside, the issue features, among other things a public opinion poll on the most popular writers and books among workers (Sienkiewicz of *Quo Vadis* fame won—no Soviet writer was listed), and a discussion of the Warsaw uprising which condemns the concept but praises the people's heroism. The first page of *Przegląd Kulturalny* contains—aside from the mask of an ancient Egyptian queen—an article on the need to widen the influence of the theater, television, radio, etc.; a report by Washington correspondent Edmund Osmańczyk on the US reactions to De Gaulle's rise to power; the record of a trip to Brazil; and a critical piece on difficulties in a provincial town. Inside, the paper features an article on the Polish theater by Jan Kott—who left the Party last year in protest against Gomułka's banning of *Europa*, a magazine intended to review Western literary and cultural events.

In 1956, almost every issue of *Nowa Kultura* dealt with one of the nation's "painful and festering problems"—i.e., the demoralization of youth, the acute housing shortage, the need to rehabilitate former members of the Polish Home Army, etc. As was to be expected, the Eighth Plenum received *Nowa Kultura's* enthusiastic support, and in the period immediately following Gomulka's return, the periodical entered into a sharp dispute with *l'Humanité* (Paris), organ of the French Communists, which had displayed a markedly cool attitude towards Polish liberalization. During the Hungarian uprising, *Nowa Kultura* maintained its crusading policy by openly siding with the revolutionaries. One of its issues contained a poem by Wazyk describing the "blood relationship" between the Hungarian and Polish people. The paper also printed photographs of the fighting in Budapest and sympathetic on-the-spot reports by Wiktor Woroszyński, editor of *Nowa Kultura* at the time.

Second only to *Po Prostu* in its forthright demands for freedom, *Nowa Kultura* began to run into difficulties with the Gomulka regime in the second half of 1957.\* At the Ninth Plenum, the Party chief reprimanded Woroszyński and editorial staff member Leszek Kolakowski by name for their "revisionist" outlook, and from that time on *Nowa Kultura's* position grew steadily worse. By January 1958, editor Woroszyński was forced to resign, and for several months the periodical was managed by Jerzy Piorkowski, also a member of the "revisionist" group. In this period *Nowa Kultura* conducting a policy of camouflaged resistance: it printed long articles on Western writers (e.g., Mann and Faulkner) and instead of publishing political articles by individual authors, carried exhaustive reports of discussions held by the editorial staff on such topics as atheist education, architecture, literature and youth—and in this way smuggled into print a number of bitter comments on present-day reality. By May 1958, *Nowa Kultura's* fate was sealed. The Party appointed Central Committee member and Minister of Higher Education Stefan Zolkiewski to the post of editor-in-chief and, in protest, several prominent staff members, including Woroszyński, Piorkowski and Kolakowski, resigned. Whether Zolkiewski will force *Nowa Kultura* to open its columns to "conservatives" and impose upon it the same "middle-of-the-road" policy he imprinted on *Polityka* remains to be seen. It is clear, however, that the writers will be brought under stricter supervision and will not be allowed to publish against the tightening Party line.

### Przegląd Kulturalny

Although its demands for liberalization were less consistent and vigorous than those of *Nowa Kultura*, the Warsaw weekly *Przegląd Kulturalny* also made an important

contribution to the Polish thaw. In 1955, for example, the paper spoke up for change in a series criticizing past errors in the economy and planning; similarly, in February 1956, it embarked on a series dealing with Polish living conditions and such unhealthy social manifestations as the abuse of public funds and property, thefts and widespread hooliganism. Unlike *Nowa Kultura*, *Przegląd Kulturalny* approached liberalization cautiously, and its attitude towards the Poznań riots of June 1956 paralleled that of the regime. *Przegląd's* correspondent Jerzy Broszkiewicz wrote at that time: "Whoever says that the secret agent and the provocateur [ostensibly behind the riots] are just another myth fabricated by the Bezpieka [Secret Police] will be telling a lie." By the fall of 1956, however, the paper firmly sided with Gomulka's supporters, and during the Hungarian Revolt *Przegląd* voiced its support of the insurgents by printing "The Struggle Between Progress and Reaction in Contemporary Culture"—a piece by the eminent Hungarian Marxist philosopher, Gyorgy Lukacs, a member of the ill-fated government of Premier Imre Nagy who was abducted to Romania with the Premier.

Less directly political than *Nowa Kultura*, *Przegląd's* chief efforts in the thaw were aimed at achieving a broader outlook in the previously regimented fields of science and culture. A frequent contributor to the weekly was the

### "Day of Struggle, Work and Hope"

UNDER THIS TITLE, the Party organ *Trybuna Ludu* published a 1958 May Day editorial characteristic of its fairly rigid style. Excerpts follow:

"We are all, young and old, a generation of builders whose specific task is to build and change, perfect and transform. Our strength lies in an ideal and the people who gave it life, in the dynamics of our construction, in our momentum and perseverance in removing obstacles, in our ability to find the best roads and the most propitious solutions.

"The premise of these achievements is a vision of the future, encompassed by the general precepts of Marxism-Leninism. The point is to apply these unequivocal and binding precepts wisely and properly to Polish conditions, in other words, to introduce as adroitly as possible these basic architectural premises to the conditions of Polish construction.

"Under the leadership of the Party and since the October upheaval, we are doing this better and more consistently. . . . During this year's May observances, let there resound with double strength . . . the poetry of our everyday work. We certainly cannot complain about a lack of great words. The fact is, however, that proper intentions should be accompanied by . . . constructive work and that sobriety, economy and discipline be the inseparable companions of enthusiasm, fervor and liberty. It is the everyday results of our work, encompassed by the sum total achievement of all work days, that best describe the distance between each May 1."

\* Beginning with its September 1, 1957 issue, *Nowa Kultura* published in four installments Leszek Kolakowski's "Responsibility and History," a brilliant, detailed analysis and criticism of many basic ideological preconceptions of contemporary Communism. See *East Europe*, December 1957, February 1958, March 1958 and May 1958.

## Poetic Realism



These photos, taken from a double-page display of prize-winning Polish pictures, are remarkable for their frank realism. Pictorial admission of poverty, drunkenness and dreariness is now taboo in all the other countries in the area. That these poetic-realist shots of the more seedy side of life not only won prizes but were then reproduced in a mass-circulation paper, indicates that Polish journalism—despite the latest restrictions—is still by far the freest in the Soviet orbit.

Photos from the illustrated supplement of *Zycie Warszawy*, September 7, 1958

liberalizing sociologist Jozef Chalasiński, who advocated the necessity of independent thinking and opposed the "Stalinist" identification of science with political tactics and "humanism" with political propaganda. *Przegląd* also published numerous articles in defense of literary freedom. For instance, in February 1956, the writer Kazimierz Brandys, opposing the bureaucratization of art, wrote: "The figure of the writer-conformer, endorsing with his signature the necessary and expected law of progress, is completely alien to the concept of the Socialist creator. And yet, until recently, the tasks of literature were so understood in some of our cultural policies and criticisms."

At the same time, *Przegląd* tried to broaden Polish cultural horizons by making Western life and art known to its readers. At the beginning of 1956, it published Jerzy Putrament's report on a visit to the US entitled "Two Gulps from America"; snatched up by the public, this report heralded a new phase in Communist policy and marked an end to that period in which every aspect of American life had to be ridiculed and deplored. In the period that followed, *Przegląd* published a number of articles on Western literature and a column on recent publications in the West.

Towards the end of 1957, in response to pressure from the regime, *Przegląd* began to manifest a more conservative attitude. While it continued to print the writings of the "revisionists" (e.g., one issue contained a piece entitled "Europeanism and Polish Literature" by Pawel Hertz who subsequently resigned from the Party after the banning of the periodical *Europa*), it also opened its columns to the

Stalinists. Furthermore, it avoided touchy political and economic subjects and virtually stopped publishing the works of Western authors.

## Zycie Literackie

For a long time, the Cracow literary organ *Zycie Literackie* remained aloof from the ferment in Warsaw and in 1955 sharply criticized Wazyk's "A Poem for Adults" after its appearance in *Nowa Kultura*. By the fall of 1956, however, *Zycie Literackie* had joined the ranks of the Warsaw rebels, and at the time of the Hungarian uprising announced that it agreed with the Warsaw writers in their support of the Hungarian literary insurgents. To confirm this, *Zycie Literackie* printed an article entitled, "About the Hungarian Writers" which had appeared originally in the anti-Communist Polish emigre monthly *Kultura* (Paris), a poem called "Hungarian Rhapsody" and a laudatory article on Gyorgy Lukacs.

Although in 1957 *Zycie Literackie* tempered its criticism of Polish reality, it continued to print numerous discussions on Western literature and art (it carried reviews of the works of such authors as Wells, Huxley, Mauriac, Camus, Cocteau, etc., and articles on the American theater and film events in Paris, Hollywood and Rome) and commentaries on important national problems. Shortly after the Lodz motormen's strike in August 1957, for example, it printed a piece entitled "Drama or Scandal," describing Lodz as one of the "saddest" cities in the country because

of the housing shortage, poverty and low worker wages prevailing there.\*

## Zycie Gospodarcze

OF THE PERIODICALS devoted to economic problems, *Zycie Gospodarcze*, which converted from a bi-monthly into a weekly in 1957, made the most vociferous demands for liberalization. On May 20, 1956, the publication announced a turning point in its policy aimed at breaking the "confining bonds of narrow procedure" which it had followed for several years:

"The pages of *Zycie Gospodarcze* will be opened to bold discussion. . . . The economic side of Marxist theory is coming to the fore. This, of course, confronts us simultaneously with the problems of our national economy. Theory and practice cannot be separated from each other. And it is this obvious truth which we shall strive to serve in our journalistic activities."

The break with the past was reflected in *Zycie Gospodarcze's* next issue, which contained articles on such subjects as: "For a Change in the Methods of Economic Administration"; "The Lowest Wages"; "It has Finally Appeared"—a report on the appearance of a 1955 *Statistical Yearbook* preceded by the deleted title "Strictly Confidential"; "Let's Restore Dignity to Economic Studies"; "Don't Cover Up Contradictions"; and "The Citizen Should Know." Subsequent issues contained articles by the anti-Stalinist economists Oskar Lange and Edward Lipinski, as well as many statistical tables and graphs on the state of world economy, and reports on economic developments in the West. On October 14, 1956, in its last issue before the Eighth Plenum, *Zycie Gospodarcze* turned its attention to political matters and printed a sharp attack on the Communist election system: "All our rhetorical tongue-twisting assuring the peasants that elections are a matter of acceptance and not choice," it wrote, "failed to convince them . . . on the contrary, common sense indicated that the peasants were right."

In the immediate post-October period, *Zycie Gospodarcze* continued to publish articles that were highly critical of Polish reality, but as the Gomulka regime increased its pressure on the press, the periodical adopted a less vehement and straightforward tone. On January 13, 1957, before the Party cracked down on "revisionist" papers, *Zycie Gospodarcze* printed a piece entitled "Meditations on Bourgeois Economy," which contained the following remark: "It has turned out that it was the Marxists who conducted a defensive instead of a scientific version of the existing forms of Socialist economy. In the field of social-economic theory, they still have little to add to that which has already been said by Marx." Although by 1958, journalists in Poland were under stricter official surveillance,

\* Aside from these three weeklies, the monthly *Tworczosc* deserves mention as the most important literary review in Poland. During 1956, it published many of the thaw writers and its pages reflected the trend away from "Socialist realism" in art. Among its contributors was the prizewinning author Marek Hlasko, whose stories exposed some of the brutal aspects of contemporary Polish reality. Until 1957, *Tworczosc* was the official organ of the Writers' Union; now, however, it is under the direction of the RSW (Workers' Publishing Cooperative) press, which issues all Party publications.

*Zycie Gospodarcze* tried to preserve the spirit of the thaw. On March 9, 1958, for instance, it printed a biting comment on the servility of Polish trade unions, describing them as mere adjuncts to State institutions. This article appeared shortly before the Gomulka regime decided to curtail the workers' councils and give more power to the trade unions.

## Other Economic Publications

Despite the tightening censorship, there continues to be much more statistical information in the Polish press than there was in the past, and new publications have been started for this purpose. The Central Bureau of Statistics now issues *Wiadomosci Statystyczne* and the monthly *Biuletyn Statystyczny*, and it seems unlikely that there will be a return to the blanket secrecy of the Stalinist era. In regard to agricultural publications, it is interesting to note that although some eighty percent of the Polish collective farms



Front cover of the August 24, 1958 issue of the illustrated weekly *Za i Przeciw*, organ of the new group of pro-regime Catholics formed about the Christian Social Union. Members of the group were formerly associated with PAX, but broke with it after October 1956 because of its Stalinist policies. The photograph depicts the tower of the Jasna Gora monastery in Czestochowa—a significant choice, since the monastery was raided in July for failing to submit its publications to the censor.



have been dissolved, the periodical *Spółdzielnia Produkcyjna* (Producers' Cooperatives) still survives. On the other hand, in January 1957 *Zagadnienia Ekonomiki Rolnej* announced that it would no longer appear as a quarterly of the Insti-

### "Mythology and Reality"

UNDER THIS TITLE, *Po Prostu*, April 14, 1957, described "the discouragement of those who defend the good cause"—that is, the disillusionment of Communist "liberals" with the post-October reality:

"The phantom of internal emigration has appeared again in Poland, just as in the period of bureaucratic terror. . . . Despite everything, however, history is rather original. It repeats itself, but not obtrusively. . . . What was the character of the internal emigration before 1956? Professor Stanisław Ossowski, Adolf Rudnicki, Andrzej Stawar, etc., etc., found themselves in a state of internal emigration. . . . They were exiled by drastic administrative and police means. They were exiled because by defending the sovereignty of science and culture, they became dangerous to the system constructed at that time. This emigration did not mean capitulation and was not a sign of helplessness or defeat. It showed the will to struggle. For this reason, it aroused the respect of the nation and its ardent approval.

"Now, what is the character of the new internal emigration? At the moment, the new emigration does not constitute an organism throbbing with life. It is only a tendency, but an extremely significant one. It has originated in a social class able to exercise strong moral influence . . . it has originated in humanistic and intellectual Marxist circles, among leftist activists of the October front, journalists, the most active and mature student groups—in the social class which has a large share in the October achievements. . . . The cause is simple, and for this reason seems even more brutal: an objective dramatic conflict between a utopia—between dreams and wishes—on the one hand, and reality on the other; between ideology and tactics; between ideals and politics. Briefly stated, the great majority of intellectuals who, inspired by Socialism, took part in the October honeymoon have become disillusioned to a greater or lesser extent. The road from reality to the ideal is too slow. This is an indisputable fact which has . . . [led] to the following thesis. . . : Why should we take responsibility for reality, if this reality moves so slowly in the direction of the ideal . . . of the postulates which had been worked out before October? There are no reasons for approving this reality. However, at the same time one cannot disapprove of it, because of the obstacle of the fatalistic interest of the State. . . . The disillusionment among those who . . . 'defend the good cause' . . . creates incalculable dangers for the development of Poland's democratization. If the psychology of political fatigue becomes a permanent . . . phenomenon, it will undoubtedly paralyze various centers of political life . . . which played a great part in bringing about the October changes and which continue to represent the most important instruments and guarantee of democratic transformations."

# po prostu

NOWE  
sygnały

NR 41 (53)

TYGODNIK  
SPOŁECZNO  
KULTURALNY

WROCŁAW, 15 PAŹDZIERNIKA 1957 CENA 4 ZŁ

W numerze: Władysław Machefek — „Mabczynsyn”

# Kronika

TYGODNIK SPOŁECZNO-KULTURALNY

The mastheads of three socio-cultural weeklies banned in the post-October period. *Po Prostu*, put out by young Warsaw intellectuals, and famous for its "thaw" articles, was liquidated in the autumn of 1957 for "revisionism." The more recent suppression of *Nowe Sygnały* (Wrocław) and *Kronika* (Łódź) after approximately one year of publication is indicative of the regime's present policy of increasing centralized control over the press and prohibiting the development of a number of autonomous provincial publications. Both weeklies were issued by young journalists who daringly exposed the backwardness of Polish life outside the capital.

tute of Agricultural Economy because "the time has come to establish a new scientific periodical which will deal . . . as broadly as possible with the economics of agriculture . . . become a forum of agricultural economic thought for all agricultural economists, and provide the reader with reports on the national and international situation in agricultural economy. . . ." Although scheduled to appear as a bi-monthly of the Agricultural Sciences Department of the Polish Academy of Sciences, only three issues of the new *Zagadnienia* had been published by mid-1958.

### The Catholic Press

FOR THE CATHOLIC PRESS, the Polish October has meant the destruction of the publishing monopoly of the pro-regime pseudo-Catholic organization, PAX, which, follow-

ing the liquidation of the independent Catholic press in the years 1951-53, seized control of almost all religious publications. Headed by Boleslaw Piasecki, PAX made its influence felt throughout the country: aside from issuing its own central publications—the daily *Slowo Powszechne*, the weekly *Dzis i Jutro* (which in 1955 was changed to *Kierunki* after the original title was put on the index by the Vatican), and the monthly *Zycie i Myśl*—it took over management of such provincial publications as *Glos Katolicki* (Poznan) and *Gosc Niedzielny* (Katowice) and started its own publications such as *Katolik* (Opole) and *Tygodnik Lubelski* (Lublin). Its aim was to install a PAX weekly in every diocese and, contrary to the wishes of the Church hierarchy, to convert the Catholic press into a Party tool. According to *Zycie Gospodarcze* (Warsaw), July 7, 1957, the PAX organization had a net income of more than 100 million *zloty* towards the end of 1956, and its publishing apparatus “yielded first place only to the RSW Press.”

Since the beginning of 1957, however, the PAX publishing apparatus has suffered a diminution of power with the development of two new Catholic groups. One group is associated with the weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny*\* and the Catholic Parliamentary Club connected with the monthly, *Znak*; the other is formed about the Christian Social Union, headed by J. Frankowski, and the periodical *Za i Przeciw*. The latter group is strongly in favor of “Socialism”; it differs from the PAX group, however, in that it opposes “Stalinist tendencies” and is firmly behind the Polish October. The *Tygodnik Powszechny* group preserves a more critical attitude towards the ideology and policies of the Communist State. The new atheistic periodical *Argumenty* clarified the stand of this group in an article on March 13, 1958:

“Doctrinal reservations with regards to Socialism, and arising from the orthodox doctrine of the Vatican, are interpreted by these [*Znak*] activists in such a way that does not prohibit their participation in the realization of various empirical plans, the sum total of which form the Polish road to Socialism: ‘We have our doctrinal reservations,’ we read in *Znak*, ‘but when Socialism is a fact we fit into its framework just as the Church fitted into the framework of classical capitalism despite the critical evaluation. The fact that we have doctrinal reservations about the system does not in itself justify an antagonistic attitude towards the authorities of a Socialist State. It all depends on what sort of authority it is, how it governs, what its methods are, what the moral side of the government looks like, and what the attitude towards people of different convictions is. Our attitudes must vary according to that. But the fact alone that the system is Socialist cannot justify a negative attitude towards the government, if aside from that it is democratic and honest.’”

*Argumenty* also spoke about the appearance of another Catholic group connected with the Catholic Intelligentsia

\* *Tygodnik Powszechny* was suspended in 1953 when it refused to publish an article about Stalin after his death and reappeared under PAX administration. In May 1955, Piasecki abolished it altogether. The paper was revived on December 4, 1956, under Jerz Turowicz, its editor prior to 1952. For further information on *Za i Przeciw*, see *East Europe*, December 1957, pp. 6-7, and February 1958, p. 43.

## Reported During the Hungarian Revolt

“DISQUIETING RUMORS were reaching Budapest.

They said that Soviet troops were pouring into Hungary over the Soviet and Romanian frontiers. They were occupying airfields, railway junctions and other strategic points. Replying to the official note of [Premier] Imre Nagy . . . Soviet ambassador Antropov declared that the rumors were untrue and that no new troops had arrived in Hungary. A few hours later he was asked again. The reply was: ‘It is only a matter of safeguarding the evacuation of Soviet families and wounded soldiers.’

“In the evening Imre Nagy called a press conference. Only our journalists knew more or less what he would talk about. They knew about the futile diplomatic efforts which were made to save the situation, about the unsuccessful attempts at mediating; about the fact the Nagy had exhausted all possibilities before he decided to try the last, desperate measure. The press conference did not start for a long time. . . . At last a short note was read that in view of the new movement of Soviet troops into Hungary, the Hungarian government strongly protests and demands the withdrawal of all Soviet troops. In the meantime, the Hungarian government has repudiated the Warsaw Pact and has proclaimed Hungary’s neutrality.” (From Wiktor Woroszyński’s “A Hungarian Notebook,” *Nowa Kultura*, December 2, 1956.)

Club in Warsaw. The organ of this group is the new social-cultural monthly *Wież*:

“The newly-established monthly *Wież* touches upon the experiences of French Catholicism, in particular its progressive tendencies. The editors of this paper wish to ‘go out to meet contemporaneity’ . . .; that is why they accept the Socialist perspective, and that is why ‘all thought of Poland’s going back to capitalist forms’ is unfruitful to them. [The paper] is concerned, however, ‘that the Socialist social-economic formation, into which Poland has entered as a result of accomplished social reforms, should develop in a direction most advantageous to the rights of man. . . . October 1956 was a fundamental step in this respect. And just as there is no going back to capitalist forms, so there can never be a return from the principal idea of October.’ . . . *Wież* speaks . . . for ideological discussions in an atmosphere of tolerance and for cooperation with unbelievers in the implementation of undertakings favoring the spread of the free integration of the human personality. They also declare their cooperation in the struggle against ‘fanaticism, religious intolerance and ignorance’ in Catholic circles on condition that ‘we wage a struggle against all forms of materialist [fanaticism]!’”

*Argumenty* complimented the Catholic press on its efforts to fight fanaticism, “social conservatism,” and intolerance. It said, for example, that *Tygodnik Powszechny* had condemned anti-Semitic manifestations, had published

articles on "Unitarians and Protestants," and denounced various forms of "nationalism" and "racism." On the basis of *Argumenty's* discussion it seems clear that up to the present the Gomulka government has been willing to accept the growth of various Catholic movements so long as they give evidence of a "progressive" and cooperative attitude. "No Socialist and democrat," *Argumenty* declared, "can remain indifferent to the question—which form will Polish Catholicism assume: obscurantist, irrational and fanatic, or intellectual, enlightened, sublime and democratic."

There is still, however, considerable dissatisfaction in Catholic circles with regard to the powers of PAX and regime restrictions on the growth of the Catholic press. Although a number of religious publications have been revived and some new ones started (including *Przewodnik Katolicki*; *Homo Dei*; *Współczesna Ambona*; *Ateneum Kaplanskie*; *Biblioteka Kaznodziejska*; *Polonia Sacra*; and *Apostolstwo Chorych*) the Catholics maintain that there are an inadequate number of mass circulation papers. For instance, in an address to the Sejm on July 12, 1957,



One of the few illustrated ads in the Polish press. The girl, spreading the word about Miraculum Shampoo, is an example of the primitive artwork used to publicize available consumer goods—when artwork is used at all. The text, printed in undistinguished type, was also far from eye-catching: "New luxurious camomile shampoo. Miraculum, made from camomile flower extracts; prevents natural darkening of hair, makes hair fluffy and shiny, excellent for care of the scalp and hair. Available at all drug-stores and perfume counters." Taken from *Przekroj* (Warsaw), August 24, 1958; drawing considerably enlarged.

Deputy Zbigniew Makarczyk complained that the Catholic problem had been placed on the sidelines:

"Our [Znak group] is closely allied with the weekly *Tygodnik Powszechny* and the monthly, *Znak*; both these publications are directed at a comparatively small number of readers and they are absolutely unable to influence those masses of Catholics who should be influenced in the spirit which we, here, have agreed is proper and necessary.

"To call Piasecki's *Slowo Powszechne* a Catholic publication is either a misunderstanding or a form of spitefulness directed against Catholics. It is not a Catholic publication. There is no Catholic organ. When we ask for a daily, we are told: there cannot be two dailies, that is, *Slowo Powszechne* and another. We need a daily publication."

### The Changing Press

AN IMPORTANT ASPECT of the immediate post-October period was the birth of a variety of new publications both in the capital and the provinces. For example, two new Poznan weeklies, *Wyboje* and *Tygodnik Zachodni*, were started in late 1956. The first issues of both periodicals were confiscated by the censors but subsequent numbers managed to meet Party demands. The staff of *Wyboje*, which is composed largely of former ZMP (Polish Youth Union) members who resigned from the organization shortly before its dissolution in the fall of 1956, includes a number of roving correspondents who are assigned to uncover unsavory activities in the provincial government and Party apparatus. Like *Wyboje*, *Tygodnik Zachodni* confines itself mostly to provincial affairs, but it has a less "sensational" character than the former and strives to reach a more "serious" audience.

New cultural and literary periodicals also made their appearance in the provinces. *Kronika* was started in Lodz, *Nowe Sygnaly* in Wroclaw and *Przemiany* in Katowice. In addition, the student weekly *Poglady* and the biweekly *Pod Wiatr* were established in Lublin, the monthly *Zebra*, a literary and graphic arts publication, was started in Cracow, and in Warsaw itself a new weekly, *Od Nowa*, has been founded. There has also been an increase in satirical publications. Now, in addition to Warsaw's famous *Szpilki*, there is *Kaktus* in Poznan and *Karuzela* in Lodz; the latter already has a circulation of 350,000.

### Fatalities

Because of the increasing censorship, some of the new publications were extinguished almost before they had begun to take permanent shape. In October 1957, the popular *Przemiany* suffered liquidation ostensibly for criticizing working conditions in the mines—actually for displaying a "revisionist" character. Similarly, *Nowe Sygnaly* and *Poglady*, which promised to become an important literary periodical, were suppressed in December 1957 and replaced by the weekly *Odra*, which was designed to give more space to "problems" in the Western Territories. Many smaller provincial publications were reorganized in the same fashion.



The Warsaw periodical *Europa*, intended as a review of Western literature and culture, was liquidated even before it hit the newsstands. The first issue, scheduled to appear on November 1, 1957, was rejected by the censors, and the government withdrew the staff's publication permit. According to reports which have reached the West, the issue included an address by Antoni Slonimski to the PEN Club meeting in Japan, an essay on hope by Jerzy Andrzejewski, poems by Adam Wazyk, an essay by Elia Kazan, and a translation of an article on the British press by Dwight MacDonald which was first published in *Encounter* (London). Evidently, neither this nor previous draft issues were acceptable to the Party, which indicated that it considered *Europa* a potential source of political controversy. In exasperation and protest, ten Communist staff members—among them Adam Wazyk, Jan Kott, Mieczyslaw Jastrun and Pawel Hertz—resigned from the Party, thereby indicating their disillusionment with the increasingly orthodox outlook of the Gomulka government.

### Variety and Amusement

Despite the growing emphasis on political conformity, the Polish press can still be described as "lively" when compared with newspapers in other parts of the orbit, where there has been only a minimal departure from Stalinist tenets. The number of publications has increased substantially, and far more attention is paid to the readers' demands for light reading matter. Coverage is given not only to political and ideological subjects, but to developments in sports, the theater, the motion picture industry and television—fields which until recently were considered unworthy of too much emphasis or non-political consideration. Now there are periodicals dealing with jazz, bridge, automobile racing and international developments in the film industry, etc. (i.e., *Jazz*, *Brydz*, *Auto-Moto-Sport*, *Film na Swiecie*). The trend towards providing readers with information about the lighter side of life is evident particularly in the illustrated weeklies, whose pages are currently filled with picturesque reports on places in the non-Communist world, fashion news, film events and humor.\* Altogether, there are more illustrations in the press than hitherto and, in reaction to Stalinist puritanism, some papers have begun specializing in photographs of a sensational type—i.e. scantily clad actresses and reproductions of nudes. Whether the Party will tolerate such liberties or accept unblinkingly the growth of periodicals dedicated to entertainment remains to be seen. It is clear that, at present, control is being tightened and that the Polish press is expected to have a non-controversial character, to support Party policy,

\* The most popular illustrated magazines are *Dookola Swiata* (circ. 350,000), *Kulisy* (circ. 200,000), *Przekroj*, *Swiat*, *Przyjaciolka*, a woman's magazine, and *Swierszczyk*, for children. The magazines intended for Polish emigres are also richly illustrated. Three new ones were begun in 1957—*7 Dni w Polsce*, *Nasza Ojczyzna* and *Magazyn Polski*—and have consistently chosen subject matter designed to present the best aspects of contemporary Poland as well as the customs and historical traditions preserved from prewar days.

and to fulfill a political mission imposed on it by the regime.

\* \* \*

### Latest News

(Information received after this series was completed gives evidence of a new switch in Communist policy: instead of expanding the press, the Polish Party is now sharply reducing the number of newspapers and periodicals on the market and curtailing some circulations.)

A NEW REORGANIZATION of Polish publications seems to be underway. Both newspaper articles and the activities of a Commission on Publication Matters and Periodical Sales indicate that the Gomulka regime is trying to strengthen centralized control and, simultaneously, to reimpose on the press the criteria of political "coherence" and mass influence. In contrast to the immediate post-October period, when a variety of new publications flowered overnight as apparently spontaneous efforts to free the press from its Stalinist bondage, the present trend towards tighter supervision is carefully calculated to prevent



Entertainment page in *Kurier Polski*, July 26-27, 1958. It includes pictures of young women and of a child, cross-word-puzzle, cartoons, and columns on fashion and chess. The newspaper is published by the Democratic Party.

the semblance of either autonomy or undirected luxuriance, and to do away with what is officially described as an unnecessary duplication of contents. The claim is that a "Socialist" country does not require a multitude of similar publications because there are no opposing political parties and, presumably, no conflicting ideological viewpoints.

The second motive of the reorganization is apparently economic. The government is not prepared to increase substantially its press investments and, in the interests of maximum returns, is cracking down on those periodicals which do not "justify" their existence in terms of money and readers. One sign of this is the current emphasis on the needs of the average reader, in contrast to those of specialized groups and members of the intelligentsia.

The chief target of criticism has been the literary-cultural weeklies, whose circulation has declined considerably since the "thaw," when they debated crucial national issues in the freer and more vigorous atmosphere of that time. Their imminent death was predicted by the critic "Kisiel" who, in *Tygodnik Powszechny*, August 3, 1958, contrasted their decline (in many respects unfairly) with the growing popularity of the entertainment weeklies such as *Przekroj*, *Przyjaciółka*, *Dookoła Świata* and *Świat*. According to "Kisiel," the literary weeklies are doomed not only because they are being "pushed aside by other means of mass propaganda," but chiefly because they are "not in tune with the psychological and intellectual disposition of their readers."

"Kisiel" also charged that one of the main drawbacks of the literary weeklies was that they gave a maximum of commentary and a minimum of information: "The reader of *Przekroj* feels elevated because he is invited to partake of a buffet composed of many carefully-prepared dishes; the reader of the social and literary weekly feels degraded because he has been invited not to a buffet but to a lecture where he is told what dishes he should choose."\*

Another attack on the literary weeklies appeared in *Polityka*, August 16, 1958, by a certain "Brutusik," who charged them with being snobbish and dealing in obscure allusions understood by only a few people. "Brutusik" added that all the literary papers were alike: "If any basic differences exist between, let us say, *Nowa Kultura* and *Przegląd Kulturalny*—then these are sweet mysteries known only to the chief editors and perhaps also to the editorial staffs." "Brutusik" stated that in a country "where there are no opposing political parties and where publications can be differentiated at most as either Marxist or Catholic," the Marxist press should be organized on the basis of "types of publications." He suggested that there was room in Poland for a "non-snobbish" literary weekly and a pop-

\* "Kisiel" (actually, Stefan Kisielewski, Catholic deputy to the Sejm) did not limit his criticism to the literary papers such as *Nowa Kultura* and *Życie Literackie*—which, he said, had a circulation, respectively, of no more than a 100,000 and 50,000; he also referred to the small readership of the Catholic paper *Tygodnik Powszechny* and *Kierunki*, the organ of PAX, and, accentuating popularity, said that while the readers of all weeklies amounted to 15 percent of the total number of urban Poles, only one percent read the "literary" weeklies. He also added that only people in the cities read the weeklies and that not enough was done for readers in the countryside.



Cover of *Zebra*, a monthly published by graphic arts students in Cracow, January 1958. According to *Od Nowca* (Warsaw), Oct. 4, 1958, it has suspended publication for "lack of funds."

ular literary monthly which would deal with problems in such a way that the average reader could understand them; he also said that there was room for a comprehensive and serious political-social publication "on the style of the [English] *New Statesman* . . . or [West German] *Der Spiegel*" which would appeal to the average reader. "Brutusik" conceded that there was also a place in Poland for a serious literary paper like *Nowa Kultura*, but his implication was that the country needed only one paper of this type.

An attempt to defend the literary press was made by K. Toeplitz in *Nowa Kultura*, August 24, 1958. Without directly discussing the changed conditions in Poland, Toeplitz remarked:

"When speaking of the decline in reader interest, we silently accept the situation of, let's say, two years ago as an ideal state, the apex of reader interest, the era of journalism's great prosperity. The sources of this prosperity were easily understandable: the masses of readers were exhilarated by the assurance that the words appearing in the press would have an effect. They were convinced that a problem discussed by the press was a problem entering the last stages of solution. When, however, reality introduced far-reaching corrections of this belief—when the problems became much more difficult than their appearance had seemed to warrant and when they were

solved far more slowly than had been expected—the reader became mistrustful. He noticed that there was a difference . . . between journalism and reality. He therefore put aside . . . publications touching on 'basic' problems and turned to *Przekroj* and *Kulisy*, towards 'amusement,' 'diversion' and 'relaxation.'"

While proposals on how to reorganize the press are still being aired, the Commission on Publication Matters and Periodical Sales, established earlier in the year, has effected some important changes in the press setup. According to *Prasa Polska*, August 1958, its work in the first three months of its existence resulted in: the withdrawal from the newsstands of 53 "specialized" periodicals, whose small circulation allegedly warranted their being sold only on a subscription basis; the discontinuation of 56 periodicals either because their circulation was "below minimum" or because they duplicated other periodicals and were too expensive; the decision to distribute 25 periodicals only at certain newsstands; the transformation of eight monthlies into quarterlies or bi-monthlies; the merger of periodicals

(in ten instances two papers were combined into one, and in one instance three were merged); and the decision that 46 periodicals will be allowed a maximum of 25 percent in returns, and five periodicals will be permitted returns amounting to 50 percent.

Although *Prasa Polska* did not mention by name the periodicals affected, it did indicate that the Commission's activities have aroused strong protests in various quarters. The Commission, according to *Prasa Polska*, has met with "lack of understanding" on the part of those involved, who have refused to accept as an explanation the paper shortage, financial difficulties, etc.: "Almost always, the answer is 'But this is the only publication—what will they say abroad?' This is almost a case of *raison d'état*. There are also threats, curses, complaints sent to Comrade Gomulka, and delegations to the Premier. . . . There are also instances of resounding resolutions made at congresses of certain organizations and associations which patronized the publications affected. Several complaints have reached Parliament. If only some people could see beyond their own backyard!"

## *Prophets and Sorcerers*

THE FOLLOWING IS AN EXCERPT FROM AN ARTICLE IN *Zycie Gospodarcze*, June 1, 1958, by the "liberal" Communist economist, Edward Lipinski:

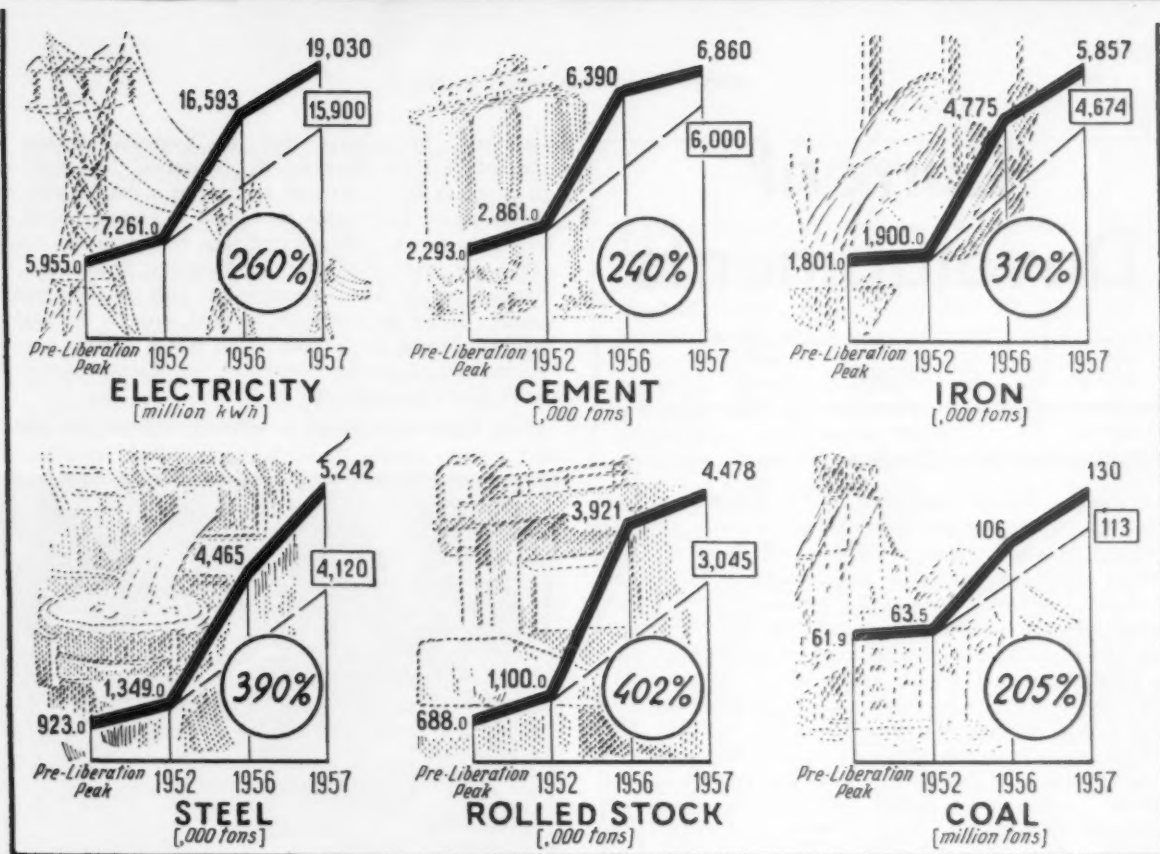
"The development of [economic] science is hampered by various taboos and all kinds of 'timidities.' For example, it follows from the 'science' of planned economy, based on 'the law of proportional development' that in this economy inflation is impossible, that the plan provides a consumer for each product and a product for each consumer. In the meantime, a certain type of accelerated growth irrevocably gives rise to inflation, but such phenomena are not analyzed: they are 'shameful.'

"Further: for example, the prices of certain consumer goods are raised to offset the excessive demand for them. The supply of such goods cannot be increased because investment has gone primarily towards capital goods. In turn, the prices of capital goods are fixed too low in order to conceal the real ratio of accumulation as against consumption. These phenomena are not mentioned openly, no analysis is made of growth conditions in an underdeveloped

economy, where the accumulation level must be extremely high to employ the growing population and increase production of basic production facilities. This high accumulation level renders impossible an increase in real wages despite increased work productivity. Wages rise only at a specified higher level of growth when excessive accumulation becomes such that it safeguards full employment, increases work productivity and thus proportionately makes possible an increase in real wages, since further growth does not require an excessively low level of real wages. All the above problems were never analyzed, and the theory of growth was reduced to empty scholastics.

"The 'taboo-ization' and 'magic-ization' of the economy . . . has heretofore been the greatest and most insurmountable obstacle to its development. In certain sectors it is still the 'status quo'. Remnants of the 'taboo-istic' methods linger among us. Most frequently, it is coupled with a divining attitude, with the feeling of possessing the secret of correct solutions, and with a pathos resulting from a . . . 'lawfully proper' and 'lawfully loyal' attitude. . . ."





Official claims for industrial expansion in Communist China. Broken lines refer to plan targets; solid lines to achievements. Numerals in boxes are Five Year Plan targets for 1957; numerals in circles give achieved 1957 percentages of 1952.

Chart from *International Affairs* (Moscow), August 1958

(Continued from page 16)

that the basic principle governing the solution of the property problem in the people's communes is the trend to transform the present cooperative ownership into an "ownership of the higher type," or "ownership of the entire people," as it is called here officially. In practice, this is equivalent to State ownership. There is also a trend toward transforming all personal property of the former cooperating members into commune property. Mass meetings of the communes are to determine what every peasant can keep and what he is to transfer to the commune.

In the communes it was decided that all private property, including all tools, fruit trees, cattle and other animals, furnishings, and even the house itself, would be transferred to the commune, and that the commune members would only keep for themselves clothes, beds, watches, and bicycles—if they owned any.

In such cases, and indeed in most larger people's communes . . . the food problem is solved by the opening of common eating-houses; this also liberates women from "complicated housework" and sets them free for "more useful activities in production." . . .

The slogan "to each according to his labor" is proclaimed as the basic principle of apportionment in the people's commune; however, in the provisions for priorities, and in the satisfaction of needs, first priority goes to the State, second priority to the commune, and the last to the commune member.

In some communes the system of monthly salaries for all commune members has been introduced, salaries varying from 7 to 11 yuan per month. The average wage of an industrial worker is 50 yuan, with possible additional maximum benefits of 15 percent of the wage.

In all communes a military organization of life and work has been introduced. The production units are divided into battalions, platoons, squads, and so on; they go to work carrying arms, and a substantial part of the working hours is spent in military training. . . .

Tanjug from Peiping, *Politika*

(Belgrade), September 25, Radio Belgrade, Oct. 1

\*\* Information on the actual number of communes set up and the speed of the process is somewhat garbled. On September 27, that is, three days later, Radio Peiping announced that "the movement to set up people's communes is sweeping . . . rural areas, and is expected to be completed in most parts of China by the end of this month." *The New York Times*, October 13, said that according to the New China news agency "as of September 30 exactly 90.4 percent of China's peasant families had joined the communes. As of that date 23,397 communes had been organized with 112,240,000 peasant families as members." It appears therefore that, after preparations in Spring and early Summer, the movement was started in earnest in August and forced through at maximum speed in September. It can be assumed that much of the "results" are on paper only; as the Yugoslavs point out, the old organizational framework has been preserved and the practical application of the scheme varies from region to region. However, with the basis thus laid, with all "means of production" now in the hands of the State, some half a billion peasants will inevitably become rural wage earners in the near future.

# Current Developments

## AREA

### Anti-Yugoslav Drive Continued

The most strident aggressors in the campaign against the Yugoslavs during the early weeks of autumn were the southern flanking regimes of Albania and Bulgaria. Their attacks, while as diversified and personally calumnious as before, centered on alleged "persecution" of Macedonian and Albanian Moslem minorities by the Tito government. In all probability, this tactic had a double objective: to promote internal trouble within the multi-nationality Yugoslav Republic, where the minority problem has long been a difficult one, and to compromise President Tito and his followers in the eyes of the uncommitted countries of the Middle and Far East by picturing Yugoslavia as a "colonial oppressor of subject peoples." The Yugoslavs continued by word and deed to refute these attacks, at the same time retaliating with counter charges at both countries.

### Quarrel Over "Macedonians"

Bulgarian-Yugoslav polemics over the Macedonian question represent no new topic in Balkan politics. The quarrel was in full force, with Serbia as the chief anti-Bulgarian disputant, even before the creation of Yugoslavia, after the first World War, and has continued since that time under both right and left wing regimes. It was muted after the Communist take-over of the area, due in part to the close relationship between Tito and the late Bulgarian Party chief Georgi Dimitrov. Meanwhile the Yugoslav government made an attempt to solve its own share of the problems by creating an autonomous Macedonian Republic under the Yugoslav Federation of Republics with full recognition of the Macedonian language and with schools and newspapers in that language. The Bulgarians, however, have taken a different tack: they are hesitant to recognize the Macedonians as a minority, as they do, for example, the Turks; they hold that the Macedonian language should more properly be called a dialect; they claim—quietly before the outbreak of the latest anti-Yugoslav campaign, but more and more loudly since—that those Macedonians now living in the Yugoslav Macedonian Republic are in reality Bulgarians, and mistreated Bulgarians at that.

Politburo member Dimitur Ganev upheld this point of view in a speech, broadcast over Radio Sofia, September 22. After alleging that "the Yugoslav leaders have rushed to place themselves in the service of the American imperialists," and after calling the Tito regime "traitors to

Socialism," he charged that the Yugoslav officials demanded of their Macedonian population "a break with all which is Bulgarian and an end to a shared past and history which has always been held in common with the Bulgarian people." He asserted that Bulgarian newspapers and books were prohibited in Yugoslav Macedonia and that the people were "compelled to give up their mother tongue . . . for an artificially molded, strongly Serbianized language forced upon them." This was a reference to the "dialect" or "language" spoken by the Macedonians living under Tito's government.

The Yugoslav rebuttal to Ganev's address was printed



The tension between the US and Communist China over Formosa and the off-shore islands has, of course, produced an area-wide campaign attacking the American position. Above, Secretary Dulles in a junk between Formosa and China, with Chiang Kai-shek clinging to the mast: "Mandarin Dulles—'Ugh, that damned east wind.'"

Cartoon from *Sturshel* (Sofia), September 19, 1958

two days later. (As the propaganda battle waxed hotter, the Yugoslav press responded more and more quickly to attacks; some Satellite newspapers were answered in a matter of hours, indicating that each new attack is no longer the subject of drawn-out, high-level deliberations, and that, on the contrary, a general strategy of anti-Satellite counterattack having been arrived at, the lower echelons are now in a position to deal swiftly with every sally by the adversaries.) On September 24 Radio Belgrade broadcast summations of editorials in the Belgrade Party organs, *Borba* and *Politika*. Both newspapers made the point that the Ganev speech, especially in that it came from an individual very highly placed in the Bulgarian regime, was "actually an attack on one of the Yugoslav republics and therefore also on the integrity of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia as a whole." Both newspapers also charged that Bulgaria had territorial designs on the Macedonian part of Yugoslavia.

On September 16 the Yugoslavs held a highly publicized celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the breakthrough on the Salonika Front at Dobro Pole in World War I. The Bulgarians reacted angrily, accusing the Yugoslav leaders of "instigating nationalistic and chauvinistic feelings." They charged that the celebration "had nothing in common with the Marxist-Leninist appraisal of World War I." (*Rabotnichesko Delo* [Sofia], September 18.) The following day *Borba* rejoined as follows: "In mentioning the ordinary historical fact that the Serbian Army had to withdraw over the Montenegrin and Albanian cliffs and crags because units of Coburg Bulgaria, without any declaration of war, attacked Serbia . . . it cannot be inferred that 'hatred of everything Bulgarian is being intensified in Yugoslavia today.'" *Borba* also recalled that Lenin had emphasized "the liberation character of the Serbian struggle against Austria." Two days later, *Politika*, September 21, also rebutting *Rabotnichesko Delo*, accused the Bulgarians of designs on Yugoslav territory and stated that "the part of the Macedonian nation which lives in Bulgaria does not even have the status of a national minority."

In a Radio Sofia broadcast, October 2, there was a variety of accusations against the Tito regime. It was alleged that "about five percent of Yugoslavia's workers were subjected to various repressions during 1957 for criticizing the ruling group." The Yugoslavs were also accused of "treacherous activities" during the Hungarian Revolt, and of trying to "drive a wedge between the Soviet and Chinese Communist Parties." The latter accusation had not before been so prominently voiced.

The Yugoslavs sent a note to the Bulgarian government, October 4, which, according to Radio Belgrade the same day, "vigorously protested overt and coarse anti-Yugoslav acts of persons in responsible positions in Bulgaria." Ganev was mentioned by name.

Another contribution to the Yugoslav counterattack was made by Central Committee member Ivan Karaivanov, a prewar Comintern official who emigrated from Bulgaria in 1945. In an article in *Borba*, October 8, he characterized as "the most important point" of the 1956 Soviet 20th Party Congress, the doctrine of "various roads from capital-

### Delayed Action Fuse

ON OCTOBER 2, the following indignant words were emitted by Radio Prague:

"A Japanese meteorological station has angrily announced that according to its data the USSR [recently] carried out a thermonuclear explosion. It was unable, however, to ascertain the locality of this explosion. It would be much easier to ascertain with precision the place from which the wind blew this provocative news item to Tokyo. . . . Not just the Japanese government but even the meteorological stations and their apparatus collect only those impulses which come from Washington! Who else would be interested in blackening the USSR in the eyes of world opinion? . . . It was the USA which, after the Soviet government had announced its decision concerning unilateral suspension of nuclear tests and had invited other Great Powers to join in this decision, carried out the largest series of atomic tests. This was Washington's answer to the peaceful step of the USSR: to infect the air over the countries of the Far East with radioactivity and, in addition, to release slanderous reports through peripheral news agencies which would wipe out the impression created by the USSR in its unilateral suspension of tests. . . . If the Japanese meteorological station has indeed caught some explosion it could only have been an explosion of fury by some Washington politician, because the USSR has once again demonstrated before the entire world its peaceful intentions. . . ."

A few hours later, early in the morning of October 3, Radio Prague broadcast a news report beginning: "According to a resolution of the Soviet government, tests with nuclear weapons have been resumed in the USSR."

ism to Socialism." This point, he averred, had been "forgotten" by the "champions of Stalinism in the Soviet Union." Karaivanov also charged that the Soviet hierarchy considered that it had a "vested right of monopoly and hegemony over the fate of other nations."

One apparent result of the Bulgarian attack was a concession by the Yugoslavs to the Orthodox Church in Macedonia, which was granted semi-independence from the parent Serbian church. (*Borba*, October 5.)

### Albanian Virulence Unabated

Underlying the claims of the Tirana regime that Albanians in the Yugoslav Kossova region were being mistreated, was the potentially explosive fact that the majority of those Albanians are Moslems. Thus the smallest Satellite State sought to muddy the clear waters of Arab-Yugoslav relations. A *Zeri i Popullit* editorial, September 28, accused the "emissaries of the Belgrade revisionist clique" of attempting to "isolate the Araß Communist movement . . .



and to divert the national liberation movement from its natural line against imperialism, especially against American imperialism." The article continued:

"The concern of the Belgrade press lest the tragedy and martyrdom of the Albanians of Kossova, Macedonia and Montenegro be learned in Arab countries and thus unmask Yugoslavia there, reveals the mission which has been entrusted to Yugoslav revisionists in these countries. The Arab peoples will be angered by the crimes of the Belgrade chauvinists against the Albanian population, because the Arabs are also struggling for freedom and also hate national oppression."

A typical Albanian horror story was recounted in the Tirana newspaper *Bashkimi*, September 10. Listing the "crimes" of Yugoslavs against Albanian minorities since 1944, the journal alleged "merciless persecutions," and contained the following passage purportedly describing the treatment of Albanians by Yugoslavs at Drenica during the war: "People were buried alive, children and pregnant women strangled, men impaled; people died from torture in terrifying agony, with their stomachs slit and filled with burning charcoal." *Bashkimi* claimed that the "policy of annihilation of minorities" had been resumed in the winter of 1955-56 and called this state of affairs "typical of a Fascist country."

*Politika* answered the *Bashkimi* attack on September 18 repeating the accusation that "Yugoslavia's internal affairs had been directly intervened against" by another Soviet

Satellite, and terming the offending article "a call to rebellion." *Politika* also said that "Albania has been given the special role of provocateur [in the anti-Yugoslav campaign] which it has wholeheartedly embraced." A Radio Belgrade broadcast, September 27, averred that "the leaders of the Soviet Union and China believe that the anti-Yugoslav campaign will be more convincing if the government of a small country, such as Albania, is formally placed in the foremost ranks."

On September 26th both *Borba* and *Politika* answered an article in the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* (Moscow) of September 24 which had been written by Albanian Party boss Enver Hoxha. Although the article had been far less venomous than many other Albanian contributions to the campaign, the Yugoslav papers responded heatedly. *Borba* said: "The regime of Enver Hoxha by definition hates everything that is truly Socialist, human and democratic and feverishly resists every progressive movement and trend in the Socialist world." *Politika* charged that *Izvestia's* publishing of the Hoxha article was "an effort to inject fresh vigor into the anti-Yugoslav campaign."

The Tito regime dispatched a note of protest to the Albanian government similar to that sent to the Bulgarian. On October 2 Radio Belgrade stated that the Albanians had refused to accept the note, and that this action "created a precedent which makes normal contact between the two governments difficult." This was, perhaps, an allusion to a possible future break in diplomatic relations.

### Planned Areawide Integrations of Transport

ECONOMIC PLANNERS in the Soviet bloc have been drawing up area-wide "perspective plans" covering the period from 1960 to 1975. While the details are generally kept secret, the following sketch of a proposed plan in the field of transportation was published by the Slovak youth paper *Smena* (Bratislava) on August 16.

"Part of this perspective plan is the dredging of all harbors in Socialist countries in Europe, the construction of new dockyards in the German Democratic Republic, construction of one of the world's largest ports at Warnemuende, near Rostock, and the opening of regular shipping lines between the member States of COMECON. Just next year, regular traffic is to be opened between seaports of the Soviet Union, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania and the Black Sea and Mediterranean; [also] between Soviet ports and those of Poland, the GDR and the Baltic Sea. Albanian ports, which up to now have been used very little, will become transit ports for merchandise carried by Polish ships.

"The railroads also present many problems. It will be necessary above all to construct—and not merely from national funds—lines similar to the Railroad of Friendship [connecting Prague and the USSR] in order to speed traffic between Socialist countries. Many of these States, however, have inadequate freight car sidings. Bulgaria lacks sufficient trains to carry fruit, vegetables and grapes to

the GDR, Czechoslovakia and Poland. Meanwhile the problem has been solved by borrowing cars from Czechoslovakia and the GDR. Czechoslovak representatives in COMECON suggested that one of the member States (preferably Czechoslovakia) produce new freight cars for all Socialist countries in Europe. . . .

"The utilization of domestic waterways also deserves attention. Involved first of all is improved traffic between the USSR, Poland and the GDR, i.e., between the ports of Kaliningrad, Bydgoszcz, Berlin and Magdeburg, by canals and natural waterways. Also, regular traffic between the Danube ports from Bratislava to the Black Sea. In this connection plans have already been made for passenger traffic on the Danube which, if need be, would also include Vienna.

"Research institutions of the member countries are submitting their first projects for gas and oil pipelines. The most important project will be a gas line from the USSR to Bratislava, to be built in the near future, and which will help to solve the energy problem in Czechoslovakia. The oil pipeline will extend as far as the GDR.

"At the end of July, the special committees of COMECON became regular committees, working in close contact with the governments of the member States. COMECON will coordinate traffic and will settle all the common problems of international transit. . . ."

## Current Developments—Area



The Harvest Festival was celebrated in Poland on September 7. Above, a miner and a peasant girl demonstrating solidarity during the festivities.

Photo from *Chlopska Droga* (Warsaw), September 10, 1958

### Czechoslovakia, Poland and Agriculture

The Czechoslovaks were far less raucous in their attacks on the Tito regime, but they opened up one relatively untapped source of conflict in the present campaign. The Prague Party newspaper *Rude Pravo*, October 3, devoted a long editorial to an "analysis" of Yugoslav agriculture which it characterized as being at present of "generally low average yield." According to the journal, the chief cause of the poor crop is the lack of collectivization and the large number of independent farmers. *Rude Pravo* also registered its disapproval that "neither the newspaper nor speech-making officials mention kulaks and the class struggle in the Yugoslav countryside." Summing up, the Prague publication declared that "exploitation of man by man still exists in the Yugoslav villages . . . [and] the Socialization of the Yugoslav countryside is making no headway."

Obviously this Czechoslovak attack could, by no great stretch of the imagination, be applied to Poland, which also possesses a largely non-collectivized agriculture. It is undoubtedly significant that the continuing good relations between the latter country and Yugoslavia have been marked by an apparent disinclination on the part of the Poles to join in the anti-Yugoslav campaign any more than is absolutely necessary. No prominent Polish journal or official strongly attacked the Yugoslavs in the early weeks of autumn, and several low-level delegations travelled between the two countries. On October 2 Radio Belgrade, in a broadcast in both the Czech and Slovak languages,

pointed out the "successful cooperation in the economic sphere between Poland and Yugoslavia." The broadcast made the point that "Yugoslavia belongs to no bloc, and Poland is in the Socialist camp, yet this is no obstacle to a further intensification of mutually advantageous economic cooperation." Radio Belgrade also remarked that "economic pressure to obtain political concessions" would accomplish no good purpose in the present situation.

### Hungarian, Romanian Attacks

The Hungarians continued to belabor the Tito regime with accusations of complicity in the October 1956 Revolt and its bloody aftermath. In a speech to the National Assembly, Premier Ferenc Munnich made the following statement: "In connection with the trial of the traitor Imre Nagy and his accomplices, the Yugoslav government once again in an impermissible manner interfered in our internal affairs and questioned the right of Hungarian judicial organs to act in an exclusively domestic concern." Previous Hungarian allegations contained in the "white paper" on the Revolt and in the July 21 note to Yugoslavia were rebutted by a note from the Yugoslav government to the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, October 8. The Yugoslav note "rejected trumped-up accusations" of wrongdoing by Yugoslav citizens in connection with the Revolt.

The Romanian regime also remained less virulent than its Bulgarian neighbors, though it continued to support the campaign fully. The angriest article in the national press appeared in *Scinteia* (Bucharest), September 13, and was chiefly devoted to a denunciation of a Yugoslav correspondent in Bucharest. The latter had provided far more extensive coverage of the wave of repression in Romania than the regime's own press had been permitted to print. (For details see *East Europe*, October 1958, pp. 43-44.) *Scinteia* characterized the Yugoslav reportage as "poisonous lies." It also accused the foreign correspondent of "defending thieves and embezzlers by distorting the facts."

### Yugoslavs Apportion the Blame

A summary of the campaign from the Yugoslav point of view appeared in the September 17 issue of *Borba*, which spoke of "new attempts to separate the Yugoslav leadership from the people, as well as unscrupulous actions calculated to cause as much damage to Yugoslavia as possible, both in the internal and international planes." *Borba* continued as follows: "Instead of theoretical arguments and persuasion, such actions are being taken as the unilateral refusal to fulfill inter-State agreements, the denouncement of credit arrangements, non-delivery of agreed wheat supplies, the spreading of monstrous inventions about Yugoslavia, harangues against Yugoslavia in the Asian and African countries, attempts to nullify the concrete results of international cooperation which Yugoslavia has achieved thanks to her policy of active coexistence and so on."

The same issue of *Borba* denied a charge in *Pravda* (Moscow), September 11, that Tito had spent far more time in Western exhibits at the Zagreb Fair than in those of Communist countries. Previously, on September 13, *Borba* had complained that Yugoslav newspapers could no longer be bought in Moscow, although "the distribution

of Soviet papers and reviews is not hindered at all in Yugoslavia."

Another interesting development was the announcement over Radio Belgrade, September 23, that the program of the Yugoslav League of Communists, already translated into Albanian, would also be issued in Hungarian, Romanian and Slovak. This program, of course, provided the nominal starting point of the entire campaign, and for several months after it was first circulated (March 1958) the Yugoslavs held off from "propagating" its ideas in the languages of the Satellite States.

On September 19 Radio Belgrade reported that a spokesman for the Foreign Ministry—replying to a newsman's question "whether the anti-Yugoslav campaign which is being pursued in the USSR, China and some East European countries also affects economic relations"—stated that: "In addition to what is generally known in connection with the breaking off of credits by the Soviet Union, there are difficulties with some of these countries in carrying out the contracted goods lists for 1958." This was a new point, not further amplified by the press or radio, although the September 17 issue of *Borba* mentioned above stated that there had been "non-delivery of wheat supplies." This reference was also left hanging in the air.

Relations with China continued to be very bad, in spite of Yugoslavia's support for the Chinese Communists in the Quemoy crisis (see below). The September 5 issue of *Politika* cited the bloc's "transparent attempt to weaken ties between Yugoslavia and the non-aligned countries of Asia and Africa." The journal went on to say that "Yugoslavia's prestige in these countries, it appears, troubles the Chinese most." The latter were accused of "ignoring protocol obligations" during the leave-taking of the Chinese Ambassador from Belgrade. (*Tanjug*, the official Yugoslav news agency, September 19.) The same report stated that the Yugoslav authorities "had not been informed" whether the Ambassador would or would not return. On September 16, Radio Belgrade leveled a charge of "bad manners" at the Chinese, because they forced a Yugoslav delegation to a student conference in Peiping to submit to customs inspections which were waived in the case of other delegates.

President Tito's first major speech of the autumn season contained the standard combination of amenability and defiance which has featured most of his public pronouncements during the dispute. He averred that "we know this state of affairs cannot last long and that one day there will be better relations," but he also declared, as he has done so often in the past, that "nobody has the right to interfere in our internal affairs." (Radio Belgrade, October 12.)

While the Albanians and Bulgarians were occupied with the noisy "defense" of "their" minorities in Yugoslavia, while the Hungarians continued to denounce "Tito's complicity" in the Revolt, while Czechoslovaks demeaned Yugoslav agriculture and the Romanians Yugoslav newsmen, the USSR kept its eye on "the big picture"—re-defining the purity of "Marxism-Leninism."

The only immediately apparent problem on this score remained, of course, unorthodox Poland, which, in spite of its ever firmer alignment with the bloc and against the

### No Comment

THE FOLLOWING BIT of good news was announced by *Glos Pracy* (Warsaw), September 12:

"A collection of Stalin's interviews with Western newspaper and news agency correspondents will soon be published in Czechoslovakia. This will be the first revival of Stalin's writings in Czechoslovakia since the Twentieth Soviet Party Congress [February 1956]."

Yugoslavs, continued to exchange a large number of delegations with the latter country (see below) and to refrain as much as possible from attacking the Tito government. A Radio Moscow broadcast in the Polish language, September 10, contained several oblique, but pointed, "lessons" for the Gomulka regime. There was a reminder of the necessity to profit from "Soviet experience," a denunciation of the Yugoslav "separate road" and a defense of the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat:

"The harmfulness of the theory of national Communism consists of the fact that, under the cover of ultra-revolutionary demands for the immediate withering away of the State, this theory comes out against the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the main instrument of the workers and peasants in the struggle for the defense of Socialism."

The broadcast also contained pointed praise of "Czechoslovak aid grants to various Socialist countries," along with the implications that similar aid from Western countries—such as US credits to Poland—departed from sound Communist doctrine. Lastly, there was a strong defense of Party control in "Socialist" States, an outright denunciation of Yugoslavia for weakening orthodox principles of this control, and an implied censure of Poland for proceeding, for a short distance at least, along the same lines.

### Events in the Far East

The Satellites, like the Yugoslavs, continued to give full support to Communist Chinese policy in the Formosa Straits crisis, and, unlike the Yugoslavs, fulsomely participated in celebrations, September 30, of the ninth anniversary of the Communist take-over in China. In each Satellite capital receptions at the Chinese Embassy were attended by high Party officials (e.g., Gomulka and Cyrankiewicz in Poland, Gheorghiu-Dej and Stoica in Romania, etc.). Telegrams of congratulations were sent to Peiping, signed by the Party chief and Premier of each country, and statements backing the Communist position and denouncing American support of Chiang Kai-shek were issued by all the Communist States. (For earlier details, see *East Europe*, October 1958, pages 36-37.)

Exemplifying the official Satellite backing of Chinese Communist policy is the following excerpt from a speech by Czechoslovak Premier Viliam Siroky: "Everyone knows that it is not the Chinese people and their Liberation Army standing on their own territory who are causing the tension in the East Chinese coastal area, but the American armed forces occupying part of Chinese sovereign territory, American war planes flying over Chinese territory and



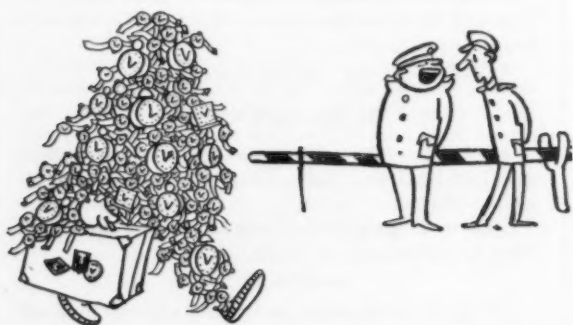
American war ships operating in the area around the Chinese mainland and the Chinese islands." (*Rude Pravo*, September 30.)

The Hungarian regime demonstrated its "solidarity" with the Chinese by organizing a Hungarian-Chinese Society on the pattern of the existing Hungarian-Soviet Society. (*Nepszabadsag*, October 1.) The Kadar regime maintains no similar organization with any European Satellite State.

The Polish position was stated in *Trybuna Ludu*, September 16: "The stubborn maintenance by the ruling circles in the United States of their present policy toward China and the continuation of armed intervention in the region of the Formosa Straits constitute a serious threat to peace." On the same day *Trybuna Ludu* editorialized hopefully that the talks in Warsaw between US Ambassador Jacob Beam and Peiping's envoy Wang Ping-nan might bring about a solution to the problem with the aid of "mutual good will." The Party organ reiterated its stand that "the right of the Chinese nation to full unity of all its lands finds complete support in Poland." A week later, however, the Warsaw daily, *Zycie Warszawy*, September 23, was less optimistic: "These talks can yield positive results only if good will is shown on both sides. We have serious doubts as to the good will on the American side."

#### Chinese Communes

The official Chinese Communist News Agency, *Hsinhau*, September 30, announced that the reorganization of China's rural areas into "communes" was almost completed. According to the report, 90.4 percent of the peasant families have joined the organizations since their beginning last April. The communes combine on a huge scale existing collectives and industrial establishments. They will manage all phases of economic life, develop all new and existing industrial complexes, oversee schools and "cultural" programs and will embody the governments of towns, villages and entire rural areas. All individual farms will be abolished, as well as private plots of ground and private ownership of livestock and farming equipment. Hundreds of millions will thus cease to be peasants and become salaried State employees. Finally the communes will give military training to all able-bodied men under their jurisdiction.



Bulgarian border guard: "What's the matter, haven't you ever seen an athlete coming back from abroad?"

*Vecherni Novini* (Sofia), June 25, 1958

#### Top Party Delegations

Another meeting between Polish Party chief Wladyslaw Gomulka and Soviet boss Khrushchev was announced for the second half of October. (Radios Moscow and Warsaw, October 6.) This presumably was the first confrontation between the two men since their meeting in the Crimea in August, which was reported by Western sources, but not in the Communist press. The Polish delegation, according to the announcement, included not only Premier Cyrankiewicz and Politburo members Morawski and Zawadzki, but also two "non-Communists," Stefan Ignar and Stanislaw Kulczynski, the heads respectively of the fellow-traveling political organizations, the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party. The 12th Plenum of the Polish Communist Party Central Committee began, October 15, before the departure of the delegation, and the trip was undoubtedly meant to include Soviet-Polish consultations on results of the session.

An East German Party and regime delegation, headed by First Secretary Walter Ulbricht and Premier Otto Grotewohl, arrived in Sofia on October 8. For some time before the visit, the Bulgarian press and radio had been emphasizing the closeness of views and intimate rapport between the two regimes, incidentally pointing out that East Germany now has a ten percent share in Bulgaria's foreign trade.

Bulgarian Politburo member Vulko Chervenkov headed a delegation which arrived—by Soviet jet airplane—in Peiping, September 22. The choice of the Stalinist former Party chief to lead the group was especially significant in view of the fact that China is now in the midst of a gigantic wave of repression; it is also noteworthy that Bulgaria has followed the Chinese lead in making particularly virulent attacks against the "revisionist" Yugoslav government.

#### Contact with Yugoslavs Maintained

Despite the anti-Yugoslav campaign, low-level delegations continued to travel between the beleaguered nation and the Satellites. For example, a Communist travel agency conference was held in Sofia, September 17-25, and Yugoslav representatives were present (Radio Sofia, September 25), and Bulgarian folksingers toured Yugoslavia for twelve days and had a "great success." (*Otechestven Front* [Sofia] September 11.) The Czechoslovaks sent an exhibit to the Zagreb Fair (Radio Prague, September 10) and the Poles signed an agreement to deliver a plant for making commercial glass to Yugoslavia. (Radio Warsaw, September 14.) Further trade expansion between Poland and Yugoslavia was advocated by an agreement between delegations of the two countries meeting in Warsaw. (Radio Belgrade, September 28.) Other journeyings to and from Belgrade and Warsaw during the month of September included Yugoslav film and student delegations to Poland and Polish cooperative and Trade Ministry groups to Yugoslavia.

#### COMECON Agricultural Meeting

Technical questions in agriculture were the subject of a meeting of the Agricultural Commission of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in Sofia, September 24-

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26. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Soviet bloc members, plus observers from China and North Korea. It agreed to the publication of a bimonthly International Agricultural Journal, starting in 1959 (Radio Sofia, September 29).

### POLAND

#### Church-State Conflict

Communist writers and speakers continued their attack on the Roman Catholic Church in September with denunciations of the Vatican and charges that the Church was attempting to aggrandize itself at the expense of the nation. For the first time since the collapse of the Church-State truce engineered by Party leader Gomulka and Church leader Cardinal Wyszyński in 1956, Gomulka himself personally entered the fray. In an address to a national conference on education, held under the auspices of the Central Committee on September 24, he said that the Church was not honoring Christ's command, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

"Following the principle that all authority is given by God, the Catholic Church in all capitalist countries gives active support to governments and State authorities of those countries. The Episcopate of the Catholic Church in Poland not only does not do so as regards the Polish government and the Polish State authorities, but openly and secretly works in the other direction. Can it be that in the opinion of our Episcopate only the rule of landlords and capitalists is derived from God?" (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], September 25.)

On the bitterly contested issue of religion in the schools, Gomulka repeated the official position that "the schools belong to the State and not to the Church." It was for the civil authorities to determine the conditions under which religion might be taught in the schools, and nothing in the Church-State agreement of December 1956, or in any other agreement, entitled the Church to more than extra-curricular teaching privileges. But the Church had aggressively tried to expand its influence, he charged, until the State was forced to take countermeasures:

"What the Episcopate was unable to achieve in a legal way, it tried to achieve by various other means. On the Episcopate's inspiration, many priests, either personally or through the medium of believers, hung various religious emblems in schoolrooms, and many teachers of religion began to introduce communal prayers, not only during religious lessons but also before and after lessons. State authorities repeatedly demanded that the Episcopate order the clergy to cease such religious practices in schools, but without result. The Episcopate wanted a clash with State authorities, and not on the problem of schools alone."

#### "International Reactionary Circles"

Popular opposition to the removal of crucifixes from schoolrooms was attributed by Gomulka to clerical inspiration. "The vast majority of the nation, including the

vast majority of believers," he said, supported the government's attitude, and so did many priests. However, "a certain part of the Church hierarchy, remaining under the influence of Vatican circles hostile to Poland and aiming at goals which have nothing in common with the Church's religious mission," had attempted "to undermine the legality and the social-political system of our country." This element had stirred up resistance, he said:

"It is not difficult in our country to find fanatically devout women and people with medieval views. With the support of such elements a campaign was organized against the order [removing crucifixes] issued by the Ministry of Education. Only in a few cases did this campaign create temporary confusion in the normal work of schools. The order of the Ministry of Education on religious emblems has been implemented almost everywhere."

Gomulka was probably minimizing the extent of the popular reaction, as did the press. One such disturbance

#### Wish Fulfillment

THE FOLLOWING SHORT, sardonic "fables" appeared in *Trybuna Literacka* (Warsaw), September 21. The last two lines are a quotation from a familiar 18th Century collection of Polish fables.

##### The Story of the Cadre

Factory director Przebiegły [meaning "crafty"] did not have the necessary qualifications.

Knowing his own faults, he put better qualified men in all the posts under him, thus assuring the proper standard of enterprise management.

##### The Story of Population

The survivors, Polish men and women, landed on a deserted island after their ship sank.

Since they were not found by rescue teams the Poles remained on the island which, thanks to them, was no longer deserted. This, unfortunately, was not for long. All the Poles died, leaving no offspring.

##### The Story of the Province

Because of building shortages the town fathers of Zapieć faced the necessity of closing either the only library or the only bar.

As can be guessed, the bar was closed.

##### The Story of Creators

Creator S. created ambitious works of great ideological and artistic value. Thanks to this, he got on quite well.

Creator Z. produced cheap trash for low tastes. Thus he did not earn so much.

\* \* \*

"What kind of stories are these? They could all happen."

"Sure. Still, I will call them stories."

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## Two Modes of Polish Life



Left, women workers in Katowice, Poland. Right, a Polish fashion model. Left, *East Europe Photo*; right, *Poland* (Warsaw), No. 8, 1958

occurred in the village of Trzebnia in the province of Cracow, where the school principal had refused to carry out the instructions of the Ministry of Education on removing crucifixes from schoolrooms. When a representative of the Inspector of Schools, accompanied by police, arrived to remove them a crowd gathered in protest. One policeman was injured and a number of people were arrested. (*Zycie Literackie* [Cracow], September 14.)

The charge of international conspiracy made by Gomulka against the Church was also the theme of an article in *Zycie Warszawy* (Warsaw), September 17 and 18. The writer cited what he alleged to be "political utterances" by Church dignitaries in their sermons, utterances which he said were directed against the regime. "What are the Church representatives aiming at?" he asked. "What do they seek to accomplish?" In attacking the present state of affairs in Poland, the Church, he stated, could not hope to win a return to "medieval conditions" when it had "played the central political role," but could only weaken Poland and, by dividing society, play into the hands of "some brutal and ruthless foreign power."

"International reactionary circles are making every possible effort to expand the conflict fomented by the totally unjustified utterances of the Church hierarchy and to give it their own political content—by no means an ecclesiastical one—and to use it as an instrument for their political fight against Poland, which has nothing to do with religion. . . . Their support for the demands of the Church hierarchy is the result of a simple political calculation. . . . The weakening of Poland and the creation of additional difficulties on her road by shattering the nation's political unity—that is the main stake in this game."

### Other Attacks

Other harsh words came from Party Politburo member and Chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, Ignacy Loga-Sowinski. In an address to a plenary meeting of the Council on September 2 he said that "some of our

bishops, including Cardinal Wyszynski . . . would like to replace the people's government, the government of workers and peasants, with a government of black reaction. They develop their political actions in this direction, making use of the pulpit and various religious rituals." (*Glos Pracy* [Warsaw], September 2.) From the Peasant Party newspaper *Dziennik Ludowy* (Warsaw), September 10, came the charge that since October 1956, "the priests have been applying to the local people's councils for the return of Church land taken over under the law of March 20, 1950. They are blackmailing the peasants and, sometimes forcibly, illegally recovering the land." The article cited a number of instances in which the clergy had allegedly tried to take land from the peasants (who are almost unanimously devout Catholics):

"The vicar of Gostkow, Torun district, held a vote during the church service on September 7, 1957. He told his parishioners that those in favor of the return to the Church of land taken over under the law of March 20, 1950, should stand on the right side of the church and those against, on the left. On this occasion he quoted the seventh commandment, "Thou Shalt Not Steal," remarking that the government regulations were allegedly in opposition to that commandment."

The youth newspaper *Sztandar Mlodych* (Warsaw) charged on September 11 that the clergy were obtaining building materials to which they were not entitled. For example, the villagers of Przybyslawice in the district of Miechow had applied for a license to build a tobacco barn. When the barn was finished, they converted it into a chapel. In this way, the paper said, the Church was depriving other sectors of scarce building materials, under the guise of popular demand.

### Whose Millennium?

The Church-State struggle was thrown into dramatic focus by the question of the Millennium. The 1,000th anniversary of the Polish nation is to be celebrated officially



during the years 1960-1966. This anniversary coincides roughly with the Christianization of Poland, and the Church is conducting its own Millennium observance during the years 1957-1965 with the announced aim of "re-Christianizing" Polish life. The Church's celebrations include the well-known pilgrimages to the Jasna Gora monastery in Czestochowa, two of which took place in August. These religious displays have been interpreted by the regime as a challenge to its own political power. A Radio Warsaw broadcast in English on September 12 stated, bluntly enough, that "the approaching Millennium celebrations have taken on a quite definite political taint, in that the Catholic Church has now come out with its own conception of the Millennium."

"Taking advantage of the fact that the 1,000th anniversary of the Polish State more or less coincides with the 1,000th anniversary of the introduction in this country of the Christian religion, whose progressive role at that time nobody wants to deny, the Church authorities aim at having the celebrations transformed into a manifestation of allegiance to Catholicism and the Vatican. . . . [They] have actually put out very detailed instructions, saying that by 1966 there must not be a single nonbeliever in Poland, not a single person unchristened and no one not practicing [Catholic]. . . . The plans for action have been worked out to the smallest detail, and the extent of this intolerance is shown by a pastoral letter from one of the bishops, who went so far as to call on twelve-year-old children to see that all their schoolmates attend lessons on religion. . . . All that makes for what can only be called an offensive by that part of the Catholic clergy which has taken the most unfavorable attitude toward the Socialist system, a system that according to them is abnormal, unstable and contrary to the law of God and man."

The chief issue, the commentator said, was not freedom of religion but "freedom of unbelief. Elementary tolerance toward nonbelievers is a problem of very great political importance, a problem created by the Church's attempt to impose its ideology and to dominate public life."

### Compromise on Gift Parcels

During September the Church made a limited concession to the State on the question of who would distribute charitable contributions sent to Poland by Catholic organizations in the United States and elsewhere. The regime had refused to allow the Church to distribute the goods, and the National Catholic Welfare Council (the American organization sending the goods) had refused to let them be turned over to a regime-dominated State-Church commission for distribution. Conferences between the regime and representatives of the NCWC had failed to reach an agreement; in the meantime shipments accumulated in Polish warehouses. On September 16 the Secretariat of the Primate of Poland issued a statement turning over all the contributions received between March 10 and August 4 to a Church-State committee in Cracow for the relief of flood victims.

It was not clear whether the compromise would extend to future gifts from abroad. On September 26 *Zycie Warszawy* quoted a Vatican radio broadcast as stating that the Secretariat of the Primate had "renewed its demand to

the Ministry of Labor and Social Welfare to turn the gifts addressed to the Cardinal over to Polish Church institutions." The newspaper concluded that "there is still essential divergence between the needs of the victims of floods in Poland and the policy carried on with the help of the Vatican radio."

### Changes In Education

A national conference on "certain topical problems affecting Polish education" was held by the Party Central Committee on September 24, attended by members of the Party Politburo, government representatives and the chairman of the teachers' union. The central topic of the conference was the gradual extension of basic education by two years, which will raise the school-leaving age from fourteen to sixteen. In a lengthy address, First Secretary Gomulka told the conference that the seven-year basic school "should be gradually reformed, adding two years of vocational training and general education. The aim is to enable those children who finish the seven-year basic school and do not go on to secondary or vocational schools to take a two-year preparatory course for a trade. Those who intend going into agriculture will get agricultural training and others will be prepared for various trades in industry, transport, and so forth." (*Trybuna Ludu* [Warsaw], September 25.)

Underlying the reform, though not emphasized by Gomulka, is the problem of Poland's swelling population. The high postwar birth rate will soon be felt in the 14- to 16-year age bracket, among children for whom neither schooling nor satisfactory employment are readily available. Another problem on which he dwelt more heavily is the need to raise the educational level of the Polish labor force by additional training adapted to the needs of "Socialist construction."

"To this very day in our public opinion there is still the false conviction that manual work, irrespective of what it involves, does not call for better education, that for such work it is enough to possess knowledge acquired by experience. If a man who has had secondary education does not work at a desk, but does manual work, then many people think that this man has wasted his time on education. Many a father, when sending his children to general-education secondary schools, is motivated by the desire to get them out of the manual-work world in which they themselves live. . . . In the Socialist system, work, education and upbringing should be linked into one great entity. . . . A great deal of work is being carried out in this field by the Soviet Union, aiming at the linking of science with production work and a reorganization of the educational system in which youth, while acquainting itself with the production processes, will at the same time be able to receive a full, general education."

The two-year extension of schooling could not be carried out immediately, he said, because the physical requirements for new classrooms far exceeded the capacity of the State budget. Even without the extension, Poland will need 30,000 new classrooms before 1965, and the extra two years will up these requirements by "tens of thousands." During the celebration of Poland's Millennium in

the years 1960-1966, the Party will try to draw the people into assisting the school-building program under the slogan, "A Thousand Years—A Thousand Schools."

Gomulka devoted the remainder of his address to questions of religion (see Church-State Conflict, above) and ideology. He said that an important task of the schools is

"to speed up the process of transformation of the awareness of youth, of bringing them up in the spirit of Socialist ideology. The educational effort . . . should be directed at the development in youth of a conscious conviction that the old world is moving irrevocably toward its fall. Youth will realize this only when schools are permeated through

### *Polish Refutation of Attack by Soviet Critic*

THE JULY ISSUE of the Soviet monthly *Zvezda* carried a long and vituperative attack on the current Polish literary scene. The article, entitled "On the Lack of Faith in Man, On Nihilism and the Philosophy of Despair," accused Polish publishers, critics and readers of being saturated with "revisionism," of preferring "decadent" Western literature to "healthy" Socialist-realism, etc. The blast was answered in *Trybuna Literacka*, the weekly literary supplement of the leading Party daily, August 17, in a remarkable display of independence from Soviet ideological dictation. Significant excerpts follow:

THE ARTICLE IN *Zvezda* gives an inaccurate and warped picture . . . an unusually black picture of contemporary art and especially of Polish literature. From an ocean of pessimism, nihilism and revisionism the author names a mere handful of just people, not even enough to save Sodom. Is it really so?

"The following can serve as an example of how the [Soviet] author simplifies and exaggerates certain facts: 'The works of contemporary decadent bourgeois art are widely produced on stage and screen in Poland, and sold in the bookshops. American gangster, cowboy and detective films are played as well as films of the English and French "black" series. [We see] films based on pornographic books of the type of "Lady Chatterley's Lover" by Lawrence, and others. As a result of this, works of great realistic art, the authors of which are really progressive masters from abroad, are often lost to the public. . . .'

"What should we think about such an opinion? Moviegoers in Poland well know that American gangster or cowboy films are not shown in our country at all and that the poor and good-natured film "Lady Chatterley's Lover" could not be classified as pornography even by a very vigilant censor. Evidently the author has been misled by appearances. . . .

"A deadly earnest attack against the reproduction by *Przekroj* [a Cracow weekly] of hotel labels is an example of how [*Zvezda*] demonizes the customs of our publishers and editors. It calls this 'A provincial bowing to the West which certain not very discriminating periodicals try to impose upon Polish readers.' I make much fun of the snobbery of collectors of labels, just as I do not collect match boxes. But, by God, should I, for this reason, put my armor on and . . . launch an anti-label crusade, justifying it by big words about the social mission of art and culture? Let people collect even bottle corks if it gives them pleasure! Why should we interfere with this? By the way, it should

be added that among the hotel labels reproduced by *Przekroj* there were some from China, Hungary, etc. It is simply a matter of quantity. . . .

"The essence of the errors in the essay in *Zvezda* can be grasped by the example of the attitude toward non-Communist writers of the West. This recalls our attitude of five or six years ago which fortunately is rejected today. We read in *Zvezda*:

"Numerous novels, short stories and plays of Beckett, Ionesco, Sartre, Camus, Simone de Beauvoir and Sagan, not to mention the "classics" like Joyce and Proust, are being translated into Polish and published in weeklies and monthlies and in book form. The book market is full to capacity with books spreading the philosophy of despair and hopelessness, disbelief in man, with works which are anti-humanistic, which negate spiritual values,' etc.

"One can hardly agree with this. I do not consider the translation and publication of books by Proust, Camus, Sartre and others as a crime against the strengthening of Socialism in Poland. Certainly, this literature should not overshadow other literature; we cannot see in French literature only the Temps Modernes group and in Irish literature only Joyce (although, as a matter of fact, only one novel of Joyce was published in Poland, 'A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,' seemingly rather 'innocent'). Of course, there must exist a wise, Communist publishing policy and where its principles had been undermined, they are being restored. But ostracism is a bad method and so is cultural autarchy. I do not consider it just to treat an adult reader like an adolescent whom one forbids to read 'improper' or 'too difficult' books. The fact that so many pages of Sartre are repellent to us is no justification for 'banning' him. Of course, nobody will ask for the free admission of anti-humanistic or Fascist art. But certainly nobody will label as Fascist such writers as Camus, Sartre, Faulkner, Caldwell, Moravia, Durrenmatt and even those pessimists like Beckett. This would really be too shocking a simplification. Besides, it is necessary to stress that books of the authors criticized by *Zvezda* constitute only a negligible percentage of the total publishing production in the field of literature, that their number amounts to a few score among several thousand items. I include in this category books of such authors as Hemingway, in the past wrongly neglected in our publishing plans and undoubtedly worthy of propagation. Thus, the publication of books of Western writers in the last three years was to a large extent planned to make up for our arrears in this field."

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and through with rationalist views." However, he distinguished between this program and the "vulgarization of educational work" that occurred during the Stalinist years. "We know that schools should educate, not agitate; that they should instill principles, not teach slogans. . . ."

### Politics and the University

The academic year began at Warsaw University with a speech by Premier Josef Cyrankiewicz stressing the importance of "Socialist ideology" in higher education. While in recent years Poland had successfully overcome "dogmatism and vulgarization" in academic life, there had been symptoms "of a revisionist and bourgeois vulgarization of science, attempts to cut it off from Marxism and its scientific methods." He said, "We must all declare war against those attempts. We must know how to win that battle, not, of course, by returning to the vulgarization of Marxism but by convincing students, as well as professors and teachers, that Marxism is the only salvation of humanity." (Radio Warsaw, October 1.)

Minister of Higher Education Stefan Zolkiewski dealt with the methods of fighting this battle in a long article in *Trybuna Ludu*, September 24. He admitted that, while few students are conscious opponents of "Socialism," there were "not many people devoted to Socialism with full conscience and deep conviction. . . ." The great majority, he said, took the attitude of "observers, critics and, in the best instances, of people who are inclined to confine themselves

to fostering progress within the framework of their profession." He called for more attention to philosophy and economics—along Marxist lines—and for more intensive work by Party organizations to supplement the curriculum with lectures and propaganda. In awarding scholarships, he said, three criteria will be considered: the financial situation of the student, his progress in his studies and his social-political attitude.

### Marek Hlasko Defects

On October 10 Western newspapers published a statement by the leading young Polish writer, Marek Hlasko, explaining his decision not to return to Poland. Hlasko accused the regime of trying to pressure him into returning by refusing to extend his passport. He left Poland six months ago to visit the West, lived for some time in Paris and was in West Germany when his decision was announced.

In his statement Hlasko said that the regime refusal to extend his passport was a "complete surprise." He continued: "I could not accept it [the refusal] because it represents a violation of human rights and a violation of the Polish Constitution. To comply with it would mean renouncing one's own dignity and freedom."

Hlasko's bitter, realistic stories of contemporary Polish life have made him the most popular of the younger generation of Polish writers (see *East Europe*, September and October 1957, for two typical Hlasko stories). Hlasko received a State prize for literature in January, but has been under considerable attack since because of his portrayal of Polish reality. One such attack appeared in the Warsaw Party paper *Trybuna Ludu* last April; Hlasko's reply to it, which *Trybuna Ludu* refused to print, appeared in the emigre journal *Kultura* published in Paris (see *East Europe*, September 1958). A film made from Hlasko's novel "The Eighth Day of the Week" by a West German-Polish company won a prize at the Venice Film Festival this year, despite protests from the Polish regime over its exhibition.

In commenting on Hlasko's decision not to return to Poland, Radio Warsaw, October 9, said, "Certainly Hlasko is harming himself most of all."

### Personnel Changes

As the Party hierarchy prepared for the long-postponed Third Party Congress—which has now been announced to open March 10, 1959—there were sporadic instances of the downgrading of officials not identified with Gomulka's faction. One of these, Feliks Baranowski, First Secretary of the Bydgoszcz Province Party apparatus, has "resigned his post for reasons of health," according to *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw), September 6. Baranowski is regarded as a Stalinist; his successor in Bydgoszcz, Mieczyslaw Marzec, a member of the Central Committee, has long been active in the Party apparatus.

One of Gomulka's most outspoken enemies during the Stalinist era, Roman Werfel, also appears to have been downgraded, according to recent Western reports. At one time editor-in-chief of the Party daily, *Trybuna Ludu*,

### Clean Underwear

A HEARTFELT CRY from Poland.

"Our television is planning a nationwide network of 19 TV stations to be ready by 1970. The number of TV sets owned by peasants is to increase several times. All this would be a laudable achievement in the development of national culture, but for some very embarrassing facts.

"For example, in Kielce Province there are entire villages where physical needs have to be satisfied in the fields or behind a barn for lack of toilets. In thousands of villages water from uncovered ditches is used for lack of wells. Farm workers lack even the most primitive facilities for washing themselves after fertilizing the fields. Many towns are without sewer systems. . . .

"It is superfluous to list more examples to prove that we wallow in dirt, a source of all diseases. Everybody can see it and the press is full of it. Civic officials excuse themselves by citing shortages of sanitary equipment and workers. . . . What we need is action, not excuses. Before we buy a new hat—I return to the construction plans for new TV centers—let us first acquire some clean and untorn underwear. . . .

"The Ministry of Health recently worked out a directive on the sanitary cleanliness of the country. . . . To ensure [its fulfillment], the directive makes it obligatory for the Minister of Internal Affairs to order the militia to apply punitive sanctions against offenders who defy sanitary regulations." (*Głos Pracy* [Warsaw], September 2.)



Werfel, who published an anti-Gomulka book in 1950, is now working in the provinces in a Wroclaw Party publication.

Western sources also reported the ouster of Artur Starewicz from his post as head of the Central Committee's press bureau. Not known as a Stalinist, Starewicz was said to have offended the regime by his "over-volubility" with Western newsmen.

### Relations with West Germany

Polish-West German relations appear to have deteriorated recently. The chief bone of contention remains the Western Territories, formerly held by Germany, but taken over by Poland after World War II. Recently there was a new flare-up in this constantly smoldering issue after a speech, September 1, by Polish General Janusz Zarzycki who stated that "establishment of diplomatic relations with West Germany is dependent on West German recognition of the Oder-Neisse frontier." Although Zarzycki's speech was unauthorized and the official Polish Press Agency sent its subscribers a notice that the offending portions should be stricken from reports of the address, the reaction in Bonn was immediate and angry. One highlight was a statement by the Social Democratic Party, September



Alina Szapocznikow, rising thirty-year-old Polish sculptress, in her studio.  
Poland (Warsaw), No. 8, 1958

### No Slums in Holland

THIS DESCRIPTION of Holland, from the Warsaw paper *Glos Pracy*, September 16, is remarkable for its glowing picture of a Western country, its implicit bitterness about life in Poland, and for its specific attribution of Holland's prosperity to its capitalist past.

"There are no slums in Holland. There are no dilapidated huts built clumsily with boards and old iron, no trash, no small, narrow and dirty streets, no suspicious-looking nooks full of the smell of cabbage, heavy odor of clothes wet too long—no poverty. Everything here gives the impression of cleanliness and order, and it is not in the least an illusion. Cleanliness, order, beauty and flowers . . . swarms of bicycles, scooters, and motorcycles. . . . Neither is there a lack of cars.

"Many features of this country which are so impressive and, above all, its visible prosperity, are largely the inheritance from the once powerful merchants of Holland."

ber 2, that the general had done a "disservice to all those groups in both nations who were striving to improve relations" between the two countries. This reaction was followed two days later by an attack on both the German Social Democrats and Christian Democrats by Polish Foreign Minister Adam Rapacki, who spoke as follows:

"German policy has been influenced by military and frontier-revisionist elements. If these elements are still dangerous to Poland, it is because the Western powers clearly refuse to recognize the Oder-Neisse line. Unfortunately, militarism and [frontier] revisionism have found apologists and helpers, not only in the Adenauer government, but also in the Social Democratic camp." (Radio Warsaw, September 4.)

There has been a succession of articles in the press accusing the West Germans of no longer wanting good relations with Poland. On October 3 *Trybuna Ludu* (Warsaw) spoke on the "growing reluctance of [German] politicians to take a clear-cut stand." Previously the Warsaw daily *Express Wieczorny*, August 30, had printed the following mocking comment on the Bonn government: "The German national anthem has changed its refrain; now it goes as follows: '*Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, doch darüber kommt noch Dulles.*'" ("Germany, Germany over all, but higher still is Dulles.")

### Economic Crimes

The areawide drive against "economic crimes" was reflected in the publication of statistics on the problem by *Glos Pracy* (Warsaw), September 20. The journal stated that in 1957 there were "1,170 economic and 2,287 income tax crimes amounting to more than 280 million *zloty*." In the first six months of 1958, it said, there were 960 economic and 3,311 income tax cases, amounting to a loss of 233 million *zloty*.

*Glos Pracy* stated that a new and more stringent economic crime law had been drafted and would be presented to the Sejm (parliament). There was no enumeration of the points of the new law.

## Current Developments—Poland, Hungary

The publication also deplored the increase in illegal distilling of alcohol; it said that "1,205 illegal stills had been liquidated" in the first half of 1958. *Glos Pracy* criticized the courts as being too lenient in their sentences of the lawless "whiskey makers."

On September 23 Radio Warsaw announced that the Ministry of Home Trade had compiled "a list of embezzlers and thieves dismissed from various shops throughout the country." According to the broadcast, those whose names appear on the black list "will no longer be able to obtain jobs in commerce."

### Espionage Trials

Three separate cases involving so-called "American espionage agents" were reported in the Warsaw press during a single week in September. The alleged agents were also connected with West German "intelligence centers." On September 16 Zofia Ratajczak, a librarian, had a previous sentence of six years in prison raised to eight years, after being convicted of passing "information on the political and economic situation in Poland" while on a trip to Paris (*Trybuna Ludu*, September 17). The arrest of another accused "American agent," Bernard Zgola, a soccer coach, was announced in the same journal, September 12. Two days later *Trybuna Ludu* reported that three more alleged spies, all with German connections, would come to trial in the near future.

### Writers Defended

On a recent trip to the USSR, the head of the Polish Writers' Union, Antoni Slonimski, defended several of his compatriots whose work has been the focus of Soviet and orthodox Communist attacks on the grounds of "revisionism." In a lengthy interview printed in the Moscow literary magazine *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (read over Radio Warsaw, September 24), Slonimski characterized as "important talents" novelist Marek Hlasko (see above), critic K. T. Toeplitz and satirist Slawomir Mrozek, all three of whom have been bitterly condemned in the Soviet press. He also praised novelist Maria Dambrowska, who, like himself, has never belonged to the Communist Party, as well as the novelist Jerzy Andrzejewski and the poet Mieczyslaw Jastrun, both of whom left the Party last Fall in protest against increased regime censorship.

While not advocating "Socialist realism" in the interview, Slonimski condemned the trends toward "abstractionism and futurism among some young writers." He called for "militant" and "understandable" writing.

Another defense of certain writers who have of late more often been attacked for "revisionist leanings" appeared in the weekly, *Polityka* (Warsaw), August 30. This time the Bulgarian journal *Filosofska Misl* (Sofia) was rebutted for its "nasty epithets" applied to Polish writers Leon Bauman, Jerzy Wiatr and Leszek Kolakowski. Accusations of revisionism against the three were applied "too arbitrarily," the Polish newspaper stated. It went on to mock *Filosofska Misl* for mistakenly charging that "dialectical and historical materialism" was not adequately taught in Warsaw University. The Bulgarian editors were invited

to attend Professor Adam Schaff's lectures on the topics at the University.

### Residence Registrations

One of the more inefficient holdovers from the Stalinist days, the residence registration rules, will be abolished, according to *Express Wieczorny* (Warsaw), September 10. The journal stated that, although the matter is still in the "discussion phase," Provincial Councils and Prosecutors' Offices have already agreed that the regulations should be nullified. *Express Wieczorny* quoted the Prosecutors' Office as saying that the residence registration rules have resulted in "chaos and months or even years of illegal and unpunished residential status for hundreds of thousands of people." In Warsaw alone, the publication averred, there are "30 to 50 thousand persons in illegal residence, although no one can be sure exactly how large the figure is."

## HUNGARY

### "Economic Crime" and "Hooliganism"

After two years, reverberations of the popular resistance displayed in the October 1956 Revolt still echoed throughout the country as the regime continued to battle "economic crime" and "hooliganism," the two outstanding contemporary manifestations of public despair and disillusion. As always, the publicized cases were directly or indirectly attributable to the uprising. For example, the most important "economic crime" tried in the early days of autumn involved reconstruction work in Budapest. The Party



Four Hungarians recently tried for "espionage." They "confessed" to being American agents associated with Gabor Illesi, who was sentenced to death. Sentences for the men above had not yet been announced. They are, top, Andras Krizsai and Istvan Vas, bottom, Sandor Kopcsa and Jozsef Karsai.

Photos from *Nok Lapja* (Budapest), September 18, 1958

daily, *Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], September 25, prominently reported the sentencing of a four-member "gang [which] charged 310,000 *forint* for their work, the value of which, according to experts, hardly amounted to 100,000 *forint* in work accomplished." According to the newspaper, the leader of the group, Janos Katona, was a "technical official of the Sixth District Estate Agency in Budapest," and the other defendants were "small craftsmen tilers." Katona was given life imprisonment, the other three jail terms of 10, 12 and 15 years.

It is significant and typical of the underlying political theme in this as in most such trials that *Nepszabadsag* characterized Katona as a "plainclothesman of the former Horthyite regime (prewar right-wing government)." This coupling of "economic crime" with political opposition may have been in line with previous regime pronouncements that most "counterrevolutionary culprits" have been uncovered and that the police will now concentrate on incidents of financial graft and corruption. The point was reiterated by Premier Ferenc Munnich in his report to the National Assembly (*Nepszabadsag*, September 27). Munnich said that, "essentially speaking, the uncovering of counterrevolutionary crimes has been completed . . . [and] the traitors have received their just and deserved punishment." He then spoke of the "central issue in the work of our judicial elements," which he characterized as "energetic action against the elements harmful to our economic life, such as speculators and agents of corruption." In the future it will, of course, be quite possible for the courts to try political enemies as "economic criminals."

The regime continued its policy of branding public demonstrations against the hated Security Police (AVH) as hooliganism. The following excerpt from *Hetfoi Hírek* (Budapest), September 1, is a case in point:

"On August 20 a policeman answered a call from a woman who asked help against burglars attempting to break into her apartment. By the time he arrived on the scene the burglars had fled. However, the chief of the hooligans of the district, Bela Blaha, picked a fight with the policeman, and before long the latter was defending not only public safety but also his own life. The brawl had many onlookers, drunkards and loafers, who encouraged the hooligan and threatened to interfere. Finally the policeman succeeded in drawing his gun and shooting Blaha. The collapse of the bandit frightened the increasing number of onlookers and the officer was able to call for reinforcements from a public phone booth and ask for an ambulance. The hooligans threw stones and bricks at the phone booth and shouted, 'Dirty AVH man, we'd like to beat you to death!' Before they had time to start a new fight, however, the military patrol car was on hand. The hooligans threatened the patrol too, but were dispersed by the arrival of major police and military detachments."

This episode, which implies a rather formidable demonstration against the AVH, was reported only in *Hetfoi Hírek*. There was no follow-up to the story.

### "Spy" Scare

On September 14 *Nepszabadsag* (Budapest) announced that Gabor Illesi had been sentenced to death for "es-

## Two Years After the Revolt:

### "Free Elections" in Hungary

At the height of the Hungarian Revolt, members of the Hungarian government address the nation. Premier Imre Nagy promises a democratic government:

"IN THE INTERESTS of further democratization . . . the Cabinet has abolished the one-party system and has decided that we should return to a system of government based on the democratic cooperation of the coalition parties as they existed in 1945." (Radio Budapest, October 30, 1956.)

Minister of State Zoltan Tildy speaks of free elections:

"THE NATION'S WILL has been fulfilled and the national revolution has triumphed. . . . We must create a new national life. . . . The government has acted correctly in deciding to abolish one-party rule in Hungary. We declare that the people of the country must decide the future of the nation freely and without interference. Free elections will be held and we are making preparations for them." (Radio Budapest, October 30, 1956.)

Janos Kadar, Minister of State and Communist Party head, agrees:

"I WANT YOU to know that all the resolutions passed by the Council of Ministers have been fully approved by the Presidium of the Hungarian Workers' [Communist] Party and I want to add that I fully approve of all that was said by the speakers before me—Imre Nagy, Zoltan Tildy. . . ." (Radio Budapest, October 30, 1956.)

After the Soviet onslaught, Kadar, now installed as Soviet puppet, still promises free elections:

"WE WANT A MULTIPARTY system and free, honest elections. We know that this will be no easy matter because the workers' power can be destroyed not only by bullets but also by ballots. We have to take into account the fact that we [Communists] may be thoroughly beaten at the elections, but we take on the election battle because the Communist Party has sufficient strength again to obtain the confidence of the working masses." (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], November 14, 1956.)

Two years later, before the one-party, no-choice, standard staged Communist election:

"THE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE have a lot of bitter experience with the meaning of the cunningly propagated, sham 'freedom' of the bourgeois system and parliaments. The most recent experience was the 1956 counterrevolution. . . . Those who demand a multiparty system want to bring back the 1919-1944 period and the terror, poverty and horrors of the 1956 counterrevolution even though they talk about democracy." (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], August 28, 1958.)



pionage." The newspaper claimed that he had been recruited by American Colonel Dallam (American Embassy attache expelled from the country in 1957) to work for "an espionage network on the territory of the Hungarian People's Republic." Illesi was alleged to have prepared and attempted to pass on, before his arrest, August 27, secret reports to "Dallam's successor." He was charged with receiving as payment 8,000 forint and various gifts including an "electric shaver, a camera, a wristwatch and chocolates."

The espionage motif was amplified in *Nepszabadsag* on September 16 in a long article purporting to describe the training of US spies. It was alleged that this training took place in West Germany and that British agents also helped in the instruction.

Even as these articles—which were obviously contrived to foster anti-American feelings—were being published in the official Party newspaper, a concurrent campaign was in full swing designed to prove that the bad relations between the two countries were caused by US policies. A Radio Budapest broadcast of September 20 stated that the "alleged US policy of equal rights to all nations" nevertheless discriminated against Hungary, and three days later *Nepszabadsag* averred that "the Hungarian government has made innumerable attempts to improve relations, but has always been halted by insurmountable obstacles." The newspaper called on the US to "make an effort, . . . to abandon interference in Hungary's internal affairs and to give up, once and for all, the vain illusion that Hungary's people will restore the hated capitalist system."

### More Collectivization Talk

The tenth anniversary of Hungarian collective farming, which collapsed during the 1956 Revolt, was celebrated on September 14 with speeches stressing the current slogans of "voluntariness" and "gradualness." Politburo member Lajos Feher, chief theoretician of the Kadar policies in agriculture, claimed that the regime is making progress with the peasants. He stated that at the end of August there were about 2,759 collective farms with about 138,000 members, covering more than 741,000 hectares of arable land. (At the end of 1957 the government claimed 2,607 collective farms with 126,101 members and 690,000 hectares.) In addition, he said, there were 830 "cooperative groups" with 34,000 members plus 2,240 "specialized groups" with 63,000 members; these are the various forms of cooperative or semi-cooperative farming which the Communists like to see as way-stations on the road to collectivization. (*Nepszabadsag* [Budapest], September 16.)

The "gradual" technique for leading the peasants into collective farming through "lower forms of cooperation" was the subject of an article in *Nepszabadsag*, September 24, entitled "Gradualness is an Important Principle in Socializing Our Agriculture." The writer stated that "the peasants are practical people and the advantages of cooperative farming must be made obvious to them." One way of doing this "is to let them try the advantages of cooperation on their own, without obligation." It was important, of course, "that one form of cooperative be replaced by the other in due time."

### Party Weakness

"Persuading" the Hungarian peasantry into collectives is like prodding an elephant with a stick. Writing in the Party theoretical organ *Tarsadalmi Szemle* (Budapest), July-August, Lajos Feher stated that the job was made still more difficult by the weakness of the Party's rural organization, shattered in the October Revolt. Peasant membership in the Party was very low, he said, and this "renders the work of rural organizations more difficult and lessens the influence of our Party on the peasantry."

"Only some of the important Party resolutions are announced at rural membership meetings, the rest being passed over in silence. . . . Those referring to collective farming belong to the latter category. . . . Also neglected are . . . advice and instructions on the need to fight against increasing class ["kulak"] hostility and against clerical reactionaries. . . . Party organizations at the MTS are the weakest. . . . Their political work is nil. We cannot and must not put up with this attitude."

### Bishops Mobilized

High dignitaries of the Catholic and Protestant churches have been forced to lend their tongues to the collectivization campaign. Archbishop Jozsef Grösz, head of the Catholic Bench of Bishops, was headlined by *Nepszabadsag*, September 24, as saying: "We approve and support the transformation of agriculture for the purpose of mass production." He had visited a collective farm and a State farm in Bacs-Kiskun County, along with the Presbyterian pastors G. Papp and L. Molnar, and a rural Dean of the Evangelical Church, Andras Sikter. In a discussion with county political leaders he was reported to have said:

"In my opinion, efforts to bring about changes, as witnessed here in practice, intended to change and develop the country's agriculture into a mass-producing operation, are by all means right. We approve and support these efforts, because they mean a future. I may also add that our Church has full confidence in the government and leaders of the county, and we should like this confidence to be returned."

The paper reported the Protestant dignitaries present as having promised "to make their faithful see where the future trend in agriculture lies."

### Church Subsidy Renewed

Two days later, the regime announced that the special State subsidy to the churches, granted since 1950, was being renewed through 1959. (Under agreements of 1948 and 1950 the State was to pay compensation for expropriated church properties decreasing by 25 percent every five years. These reductions have so far been cancelled by special grants-in-aid.) *Nepszabadsag* said on September 25 that the grant, amounting to nearly 100 million forint a year, was evidence "that the government actively contributes to the maintenance and improvement of friendly relations between the State and the churches. It does so in hope that the leaders and clergy of the churches will in turn support the work the State is carrying out for the happiness and contentment of the people and the country."



A new laboratory for research in small-particle physics, recently opened in Budapest. Some of the equipment is from the Soviet Union.

Photo from *Természettudományi Közlöny* (Budapest), September 1958

#### Agricultural Youth League

"In order to make the rural youth realize the possibilities and advantages of collective farming and to find their place in a Socialist agriculture . . ." ran the commentary in *Magyar Ifjúság* on September 6. The youth paper was hailing the formation of Agricultural Youth Leagues, sponsored jointly by KISZ (Communist Youth League) and SZOVOSZ (National Association of Collective Farms). The groups are intended chiefly for school children in the villages, who will be encouraged to work on model collective farms and thus "get acquainted with collective agricultural methods, collective work and, to a certain extent, with the communal way of living." Groups may be set up in any agricultural specialty from truck gardening to bee-keeping. The government has allotted 15 million *forint* for the leagues.

#### Ideological Pressure

Ideological pressure continued on all fronts, with special attention to the schools. The September 6 edition of *Nepszabadság* (Budapest) stated that the teachers' train-

ing courses had been made more stringent, and that entrance requirements to the courses would be more strongly based on "political aptitude." The newspaper also announced that university professors would no longer receive appointments for life, but only for stated periods of time. This change, of course, will make the professors less secure in their jobs. As is well known, the faculties of the universities played a considerable role in the Revolt.

The pronounced tendency of young teachers—as well as doctors and engineers—to avoid jobs in the provinces was decried over Radio Budapest, September 17. Reasons given were lack of cultural opportunities in the countryside and relatively fewer chances of advancement. Low wage rates for teachers were also admitted. The broadcast stated that despite "the great shortage of teachers in Szabolcs County," the jobs paid only 1,000 *forint* per month, of which approximately 400 went for rent of a single furnished room.

The pressure was not confined to the teachers. *Nepszabadság*, September 4, reported a new educational decree, to go into effect on December 15, which provides that university and school exams will be made more frequent and more difficult, that "the academic level will be raised so as to have better qualified people," and that there will be instituted a system of "cumulative exams before special boards." On September 13 the same newspaper complained that too many students "refrain from politics until their graduation from higher schools is near, at which time they join KISZ [the Communist youth organization] and play the new political role to perfection in order to gain admittance to the universities." *Nepszabadság* went on to condemn parents who "taught bourgeois values to their children at home, teaching them to denounce the Socialist State in private, while praising it in public."

#### "Organizers of the Theater-going Public"

In another area of the ideological front the September 4 issue of *Nepszabadság* reported a "mass activist meeting of the organizers of the theater-going public." This long-established group is composed of functionaries who lecture at meetings on current and future dramatic productions, "advising" the public on what should be seen and on the ideological meanings of the various plays. The newspaper stated that the organizers were told to "emphasize primarily those plays which will influence workers to transform themselves into Socialist men." Although intellectuals should not be "neglected," the journal continued, "the cultural requirements of the workers must first be satisfied."

#### Elections November 16

Elections to the National Assembly and to the National Councils (local administrative organs) will be held November 16, according to a decision of the parliamentary body reported in *Nepszabadság*, September 27. The present composition of the Assembly—greatly decreased by imprisonments and exiles after the October 1956 Revolt—was originally elected in 1953; the councilmen one year later.

The newspaper stated that under the "new electoral law, deputies will be elected on the basis of universal, equal and direct suffrage by secret ballot, for a period of four years." The balloting will be confined, as usual, to a single slate of regime-backed candidates running under the auspices of the Patriotic People's Front.

### CZECHOSLOVAKIA

#### US Attacked in Munich Anniversary

The regime marked the 20th anniversary of the Munich Conference which led to the occupation of Czechoslovakia by Germany with an increased outpouring of venom at the US. In spite of the fact that no US representative was at the 1938 meeting, the country was blamed for arming and encouraging the Nazis. At the same time the Soviet Union received plaudits for being Czechoslovakia's "one true friend" among the great powers and the single liberator after the war. These formulations were advanced in the press and in speeches by regime officials during the entire month of September.

Examples of the propaganda campaign built around the Munich anniversary featured a poetry contest "inspired by the tragic days of the Munich betrayal" (*Lidova Demokracie* [Prague], September 4), the publication of three new books of documents on the subject, the showing of a documentary film (glowingly reviewed in *Mlada Fronta* [Prague], September 13), two historians' conferences, September 23-24, "analyzing" the Munich period from a "Marxist-Leninist point of view," and speeches by Politburo and regime dignitaries.

The Fourth Congress of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee was also held during the period and served as a forum for attacks on West Germany as a successor to the Nazi regime. Deputy Premier Kopecky attacked President Eisenhower at the meeting for equating the Quemoy crisis with the Munich events of twenty years ago (*Rude Pravo*, September 21).

The remembrances of Munich were climaxed on September 29, the eve of the anniversary, when Politburo member Jiri Hendrych delivered the main address, recapitulating the points which the regime's propaganda organs had been making during the entire month: "We are fully justified in noting the revival and precipitate strengthening of German imperialism and militarism, the equipment of its army with atomic weapons and its entering into various aggressive pacts under American patronage, as manifestations of a new Munichism. Nothing can alter the fact that, as Hitler was the aggressor 20 years ago, so is American imperialism today." (*Rude Pravo*, September 30.)

#### Drive on Graft

"Economic crimes" continued to plague the regime and to occupy the attention of the press and the Ministry of Justice. On September 1 *Vecerni Praha* (Prague) stated that "not a single week passes without a group of coal handlers being arraigned before the courts." The news-



September 30 was the 20th anniversary of the Munich Agreement, which led to the German occupation of Czechoslovakia and was a prelude to World War II. The Czechoslovak press has made much of the occasion; the picture above, from a photo-story on Munich and its aftermath, shows the Nazi flag flying over Prague Castle. A great deal of the emphasis of the Czechoslovak comment was on the culpability of the Western Powers; the cartoon below shows the French and British flags clasping hands with the swastika, over the broken body of a Nazi victim and the word "Munich." In addition, Czechoslovak propaganda organs have been making the claim that the United States was a guiding force behind the Munich appeasement.

Photo from *Czechoslovak Life* (Prague), September 1958; cartoon from *Dikobraz* (Prague), September 25, 1958

paper reported the trial of three such individuals who allegedly sold coal to private persons instead of delivering it to railroad personnel. The men were given jail sentences ranging from six to 15 months.

On September 25 *Rude Pravo* complained that in the Ostrava hard coal region the damage caused by "brigade workers"\* who took "all the financial benefits" and then left prematurely amounted to "many million *koruny*." The newspaper appealed to the manpower departments of the National Committees to be more careful in the selection of brigade workers.

The regime appeared determined to uproot all "economic crime," even on the smallest possible scale. Thus, on September 11 *Vecerni Praha* quoted the Postal Newspaper Delivery Service in an explanation of why a number of self-service newsstands had been abolished in Prague.

\* Workers, usually from factories, who "volunteer" for a period of service as coal miners.



According to the journal, there had been "exorbitant losses." Customers had apparently adopted the habit of taking the newspapers without paying for them.

### ROMANIA

#### Repression Continues

The upsurge of repression first reported in late summer gained momentum in the early weeks of autumn, as the unflagging strictures against youth and the intellectuals were augmented by new control measures aimed at "economic criminals." So all-embracing were these measures, and the propaganda harangues which accompanied them, that the line between theft and treason—always tenuous in a Communist State—was all but obliterated. Moreover, by the establishment of "Judgment Councils" to deal with smaller "offenses against Socialist property," the regime extended its court system still further in order to cover many petty "crimes" heretofore considered too inconsequential for such formal retribution.

#### Judgment Councils—Popular Assessors

According to *Munca* (Bucharest), September 5, the Judgment Councils are being set up in all industrial and commercial "enterprises and establishments" in the country. Numbering from 5 to 15 members, according to the size of the unit, and appointed for one year by officials of the

trade unions and the enterprises, the Councils will try workers whose thefts do not exceed 200 *lei*. They will also hear cases where "insults and blows which do not cause bodily harm" have taken place between workers on the job. The Councils will be empowered to suspend or discharge workers or to reduce salaries for a period of time. They may also decree that "the guilty person be called upon to make good the damage." However, second offenses, even if under the 200 *lei* limit, will be referred to the regular courts. Also, if damage under the 200 *lei* limit "gravely endangers machines, installations or other important goods," the Councils may decide to refer the case to the regular courts. The Councils are empowered to deal with "any manifestation which weakens respect for discipline at the place of work."

Regarding another measure aimed at "economic crimes," *România Libera* (Bucharest), Sept. 16, discussed the strengthening of the role of the Popular Assessors. These functionaries, who survey the various establishments and report their findings to the Justice Ministry's organs, have apparently been too passive in fulfilling their duties. The newspaper stated that their personnel will be "reorganized" and "elected"—by the People's Councils, as before—only after "each candidate has given proof of revolutionary spirit." The Justice organs were also warned by the journal that they must "insist" that the Assessors "actively participate in all court cases which their reports have brought about."

#### Court Sentences

Smaller cases, such as those to be dealt with by the newly created Judgment Councils, have not thus far been reported in the press. However, instances of large scale graft continue to be widely publicized. The September 3 issue of *Scinteia* (Bucharest) spoke of a 70,000 *lei* theft by a restaurant manager in Bacau. He was sentenced to 15 years at hard labor. The same newspaper stated that two men, who had "stolen merchandise to the value of 20,000 *lei* from a State dry goods enterprise," had received jail terms of 3 and 12 years.

#### Youth Censured

The Central Committee of the Communist youth organization (UTM) of Bucharest held a meeting at which the Pioneer youth units (for children 6 to 14 years old) were attacked for lack of "Socialist consciousness." (Radio Bucharest, September 16.) The UTM adopted a resolution calling upon the Pioneers to enlarge their "spirit of love for the Romanian People's Republic and for the Communist Party." At the same meeting it was announced that Petre Gheorghe's place on the UTM's ruling Presidium as well as his post as Secretary of the UTM Central Committee had been taken by Nicolae Roman. There was no published censure of Gheorghe.

On September 12 *Scinteia* expressed dissatisfaction with the work of students in factories during the summer vacations. The newspaper charged that "certain elements lacked competence and conscientiousness," and as a result "lost hours and days from production." *Scinteia* then stated that teachers and professors should "analyze" the



## Current Developments—Romania

shortcomings of their students outside classrooms as well as inside.

"Lazy people and hooligans" among the youth were castigated in the September 27 issue of *Munca*. The newspaper bewailed the fact that "some young people between 18 and 24 years of age, all of them looking healthy and strong, were wandering about lazily during working hours in the Tudor Vladimirescu District." *Munca* stated that "these worthless fellows were apprehended by the militia

... in the labor colonies where they have been sent they will find all the help they need."

### Pressure on Intellectuals

The influence of Western philosophy, and the corresponding lack of interest in "Socialist realism" as exemplified in the post-Stalin literary output, once again came under fire in the regime press. On September 9 *Scinteia* denounced a recently published book by one Pavel Apostol.

## Three Poems by Slonimski

*Antoni Slonimski is head of the Polish Writers' Union. He has been several times attacked by the Soviet press; recently, in Moscow, he defended Polish writers.*

### Lying

Lying—the fifth element  
(the phrase is Leonardo's)—  
Taking the form of printer's ink  
Oozes from the daily's columns  
Onto roofs of houses, tar of streets.  
Apparently nothing has changed,  
Only that the official's face has gained a grimace,  
Only that I am sitting alone at the table  
Looking at the staircase without bannisters,  
which leads nowhere.  
Plucked strings remain mute.

*Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), August 17, 1958

### Lampoon

One would like to drop everything and cut oneself  
free  
From our bloody, heroic times . . .  
One will miss these last serene days  
Among the Masurian lakes and forests.  
A man does not desert a battlefield;  
Nevertheless, one would like to take a rest, go away  
From the political exchange, from cliques, mafias,  
gangs  
And, imitating Rilke, whisper to oneself.  
Or to write mystic Scandinavian tedia  
About the Peasant, God, about the Cosmos roaring  
through the trees . . .  
But I cannot do it! I am so allergic to hypocrisy  
that my blood boils.  
When Oberon casts a spell on poor Titania,  
When Tartuffe struts upon his stage,  
The coward shouts: "The world is come to an end!"  
Should those who are still alive therefore imitate  
Nero  
And fiddle to burning Rome?

*Przegląd Kulturalny* (Warsaw), August 14, 1958

### The Attic

The dictionary of our youth, the speech of our adult  
years  
Are an attic, where in the dust, on piles of rubbish,  
With junk and tokens of past centuries  
Lie words faded in color, destroyed.  
The "plough and sword," rusted, can be of no use,  
It cannot plough the lost lands of our frontiers.  
The truth of ages and the people's wisdom are de-  
ceiving.  
Barbiturates rule the "Kingdom of Morpheus."  
Proverbs have lost their meaning, for it so happens  
That "the fifth wheel" is now a necessity.  
The lion, "fierce king of the desert," is a timorous  
lamb  
In the face of a tank. What are the ancient "power  
of thunder"  
And "bolts by the hundred" to the strength of atoms,  
Or the "forceful flight of eagles" confronted by jet  
bombers?  
There are words that have died, like all that is  
mortal;  
Others have been defiled, wrenched from our memo-  
ries.  
Observe the gambler as he deals a marked card  
Concealing shameless deceit by sanctimonious gestures.  
Oh, that we might return to the garret, to our attic,  
And tear from oblivion, from the jumble of anti-  
quity  
The kindly words "love of country" and "integrity."  
To retain the words of old because they are ours,  
Like modest clothing, unfashionable but clean.  
Let those who wish fill the alchemist's pot  
With motley words or painstakingly compose seman-  
tic pranks.  
It is barren nourishment for our hungering mouths.

*Nowa Kultura* (Warsaw), July 6, 1958

According to the journal, "the author devotes entire pages to the exposition of the theories of certain bourgeois reactionary philosophers either without combating them or combating them without strength or conviction." Apostol was also accused of "accepting erroneous ideas and ambiguous formulations from Western literature." *Scinteia* averred that the public had "no need of books permeated by objectivist attitudes toward bourgeois philosophy."

The woman's magazine, *Femeia*, was attacked in the September 13 issue of *Scinteia Tineretului* (Bucharest) because of a short story by Florin Petrescu. The story, which tells of a love affair, and is narrated by the dog of one of the participants, was castigated as a "bourgeois sweetmeat." *Scinteia Tineretului* summed up as follows: "The couple does not represent our youth of today . . . [and] the heroine does not contribute to the construction of Socialism. The young man does not help his sweetheart to liquidate her old ideas; nor does he resolve her to work with him for Communist ideals."

In the September 4 issue of *Gazeta Literara* (Bucharest), the Writers' Union weekly, Savin Bratu criticized not only several prominent writers but also himself. Among those with whom Bratu finds fault are A. E. Baconski and V. S. Crohmalniceanu, both of whom are attacked for improperly evaluating the role of the classic Romanian novelist Matei Caragiale and thus "deliberately fostering confusion by their bourgeois criticisms." The influence on contemporary writers of such pre-Communist literary figures as Jon Barbu and Lucian Blaga was also condemned. Mihail Petrovcanu was accused of "serving a profoundly erroneous thesis by speaking in the style of the seventeenth century salons" and of "characterizing Socialist realism as a 'harmonious [Tower of] Babel.'" On the subject of his own prose, Bratu admitted that the phrase "pretentious wordiness," first applied to him, as he stated, by the Party daily *Scinteia*, was a fair description. He promised to write more simply in the future.

### Legation Staffs Harassed

Pressure on the personnel of Western legations, including the expulsion of two Italian diplomats, recently brought official notes of protest from the British, French and Italian governments. According to Radio Bucharest, September 29, the two Italian Embassy personnel had called a meeting of Italian citizens living in Romania and urged them not to change their nationality. The two men were also accused of "slandering" regime officials. It was further alleged that private Italian citizens were allowed to use the diplomatic pouch for sending and receiving private correspondence. The Italian government heatedly denied these charges.

## BULGARIA

### Five Year Plan Speeded?

Hints have appeared that Bulgaria's Third Five Year Plan (1958-62) may be hurried to an earlier conclusion

### Dark Deeds Before Daybreak

THE BULGARIAN PARTY continues to complain about Party members and functionaries who proclaim their freedom from "religious superstition," thus earning high marks from the Party, while at the same time, presumably as a form of insurance, secretly adhering to the ritual practices of the church. The Party paper *Rabotnichesko Delo* (Sofia), July 20, raised such a man to public scorn: Ivan Dzhavev, Party member, Secretary of his village youth organization, cashier of the collective farm. Dzhavev was given to such pronouncements as the following when addressing a County Party conference:

"Comrades, is it not a shame after such great successes in the building of Socialism in this country that people still exist, sometimes even in our ranks, who have not shaken off the bourgeois relics of the past? They are sheep gone astray, these continued victims of various religious prejudices."

By such speeches, the paper said, Dzhavev "won the glory of being a fighting atheist." The hideous truth behind this comely facade, however, was that Dzhavev recently had his child christened, sneakily arranging that the deed be done in a neighboring village before daybreak. He was met skulking to the church by the village militiaman and a fellow Party member. The latter kept silent about his comrade's dereliction because he himself, the previous year, had done the same thing. The wretch Dzhavev, the paper said, is still Secretary of the village Communist Youth Union, "and has his Party membership card in his pocket."

than scheduled. A plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee held in Sofia, October 2-4, discussed "the tasks of the Party with respect to curtailing the time limits for fulfillment of the Five Year State Economic Plan." (Radio Sofia, October 5.) On October 7 Party First Secretary Todor Zhivkov addressed a meeting in Sofia, at which he reportedly "emphasized the possibilities for the fulfillment of the Third Five Year Plan within shortened time limits, and drew attention to several reserves which make possible the accomplishment of this task." (Radio Sofia, October 7.)

Bulgaria is currently out of step with the other Satellites, whose long-term plans end in 1960.

### Six Sentenced to Death

Six men accused of "embezzling" government funds were given the death penalty, according to "Bulgarian newspapers" reported in an October 14 Reuters dispatch from Belgrade. Two of the men were said to have spent the equivalent of \$32,000 on dissipation.



## Rare Literary Debate in Czechoslovakia

AN INTERESTING ARGUMENT recently ruffled the normally lead-smooth and dogma-dull surface of Czechoslovak literary discussion. An article, by Jan Trefulka in *Nový Život* (Prague), January 1958 attacked the state of Czechoslovak fiction under Communism in the broadest terms, and called for literature to deal with the unpleasant realities of contemporary life. A reply in *Tvorba* (Prague), July 31, 1958, admitted some of the unpleasant realities of which Trefulka speaks, but accused him of exaggeration. Below are excerpts from the Trefulka article followed by excerpts from the reply.

"HARDLY ANYONE would regard the present state of Czech fiction as satisfactory. Literature may entertain, but a cabaret, more or less, does this, too; it may be a chronicle, but this function is better filled by history; it may sing of heroic constructive deeds and recommend new working methods, but here the newspapers give an equally good service; it may captivate the reader with adventures, if it cares to compete with motorcycle races. But literature cannot be replaced by any other kind of human endeavor or other type of artistry, if the issue is a critical portrait of the national character or of the moral profile of a Czech of today, if the issue is his struggle with drawbacks in his mind arising from the process of contemporary changes. A good writer may be or must be as entertaining as Twain or Hasek, as historically true as Feuchtwanger, as heroic as Sholokhov and as absorbing as Traven—yet, without leaving the main goal out of his account.

"Conscious, sharp and concrete social criticism is the greatest and most important achievement of the literature hammered out during the last century and the beginning of ours. . . . Those were bitter pills which Zola or [Anatole] France served to the French or Gogol and Gorki to the Russians. To see their importance now only in their criticism of a bourgeois society would be an incorrectly narrow view. Their criticism reached deeply into the nation's life and character. . . . Thus the literature of the Socialist era in our country will have or should have these critical features to a much larger extent. We feel that the need is growing for a good critical novel on the ideas, morals and character of a Czech of the past 40 years.

"If we view the crop of fiction of the years after World War II until today from this angle, it seems to us that our literature rather than approaching this important function, drifted away from it. It leaned more toward reportage-like story narratives, to individual snap-shots and to flat, schematic type-characterization, it depicted events but did not make its heroes live their era deeply, fully and truly. And yet, there is so much to tell! For example, how dangerous are the pleasure-seeking petit-bourgeois manners that have been mushrooming among our working class, seeing the sole purpose of life in material well-being.

How, hand in hand with the living standard, envy rises, greediness and careerism increase instead of better human relations. How despite all the Socialist education there are still fewer and fewer individuals willing to act on anything because of their convictions and ideas. And how badly all this reflects in the young generation.

"The writers themselves are to some degree affected by these processes. Even among them there grows a desire to be an average, published and paid type rather than to discover and suffer temporarily a hardship for one's truth. Not even in the era of Socialism can an artist get something for nothing, and the price of all great art has always been life itself. Let no one think that he can swindle the future with fairy tales, historical novels, rigged-up reporting or records of travels, that he can ignore the basic laws of art. A word of deliverance, strong and lasting, will be said by him who writes a . . . true picture of a man of today—in spite of whatever this or that individual may say about it, or whether his work is published this year or only some years later."

\* \* \*

"THE SOCIALIST man we mold and form in our country today is, of course, burdened with the past of capitalism in his behaviour and conscience. A true understanding of contemporary man has to reckon with this negative side which is not at all dead, but grows wherever it is not met by a solid barrier. Thus correct principles of material incentives, if not coupled with ideological and political education, can produce incorrect results. They may become a platform for developing a petty-bourgeois type. Further rise of living standards is then hampered by individualistic efforts of some of our people to create 'Socialism for oneself.' Thus we observe attempts to live at somebody else's expense, careerism, attempts to abuse the achievements of Socialism, but at the same time to give Socialist society as little as possible. The argument seems to run this way: I worked, thus contributing to Socialism; for earned money I purchased a cabin, a car and now I use them to my advantage. Why should I do 'brigade' work? Why should I take public office? I have no time for that now. This is an approximate expression of this snail view of our petty-bourgeois. . . .

"Jan Trefulka referred to just such and similar facts. . . . Trefulka seized upon facts pointing to the 'negative side' in our life and concluded that despite all Socialist education there are still fewer and fewer individuals willing to do anything for a conviction or idea. The contents of his conclusion show a discrepancy with reality and are not true. Trefulka has only generalized one real face of life and promotes it to a decisive feature of our development. His conclusions were skeptical and passed a negative judgment on the development of the members of our society."

## Recent and Related

**Germany and the Revolution in Russia, 1915-1918;** documents from the Archives of the German Foreign Ministry, edited by Z. A. B. Zeman (Oxford University Press, \$4.00). A source book of material pertaining to the relations between the German government and the Russian revolutionaries. The documents were discovered by the editor in 1945 while working for the British Foreign Office on captured German documents. Published in translation and prefaced by the editor's introduction and note on the technical devices used to prepare them, the documents clearly depict the attitude of the German government towards revolutionaries in Russia from the time of the German offensive on the eastern front in the Spring of 1915 until the assassination of the first German Minister to Moscow after the revolution in July 1918. They contain a good deal of new information regarding the nature of German support of the revolutionaries, particularly the Bolsheviks. There are 136 documents in all, many of which carry explanatory footnotes and editorial notes. Two appendices contain a memorandum regarding Russia and East European affairs during the period, and a breakdown of the structure of the German Foreign Ministry 1914-1918.

**Soviet Marxism: A Critical Analysis,** by Herbert Marcuse (Columbia University Press, \$4.50). This is the fourteenth volume in the Columbia series "Studies of the Russian Institute." The author evaluates some of the main trends of Soviet Marxism by starting from its theoretical premises, developing the ideological and sociological consequences, and reexamining the premises in light of the consequences. In the process of developing the concepts of Marxism, which he calls "the conceptual instruments" of Soviet theory, the author clarifies the function of the overall Marxist theory in Soviet society and assesses its historical direction. Dr. Marcuse bases his approach on two assumptions: first, that Soviet Marxism is more than a propaganda instrument; it is also an expression in various forms of the realities of Soviet development. Second, he assumes that there are identifiable trends and tendencies operating in history which constitute "the inherent rationality" of the historical process. Part I of his critique, "Political Tenets," traces Soviet doctrine through Leninism, Stalinism, and post-Stalinism, defining its apparently shifting aspects as stages of a fundamental historical trend; it views

the interaction between Western and Soviet development as essential to this trend. The author believes that only when they are examined thus within the context of the social and political processes which they interpret do Soviet dogmas become meaningful. Part II, "Ethical Tenets," deals with the subjective factor of Soviet theory—the "human material" which is supposed to follow the lead and to attain the goals set by Soviet Marxism. Notes, index.

**Ten Contemporary Polish Stories,** edited by Edmund Ordon, introduction by Olga Sherer-Virski (Wayne University Press, \$5.00). The editor and translators present a compilation of short stories by authors who are well known to the Polish reading public. The first seven stories were written in the 1920's or '30's when Poland enjoyed the normal literary conditions of a free country. The remaining three stories are the products of writers in exile and of writers who have in the main kept silent under Communism in Poland. The selections were made first on the basis of translatability; only stories of which the rhythm, tone, and impact could be preserved were used. Second, only those stories were selected which have not previously appeared in English translation, or else have been published only in unavailable or obscure periodicals. Maria Dabrowska's "Father Philip" is a realistic portrayal of life in a Polish village; Kazimierz Wierzyński's "Patrol" is a war story; Michal Choromanski in "A Cynical Tale" writes of the banal and trivial in a way calculated to convey an unusual kind of suspense; "My Father Joins the Fire Brigade" by Bruno Schulz is a bizarre but plausible fantasy built around everyday people (Schulz has been identified as the Polish Kafka); Piotr Chojnowski's "Boarding House" is a sympathetic tale of adolescent schoolboys; Maria Kuncewiczowa's "A Turban" juxtaposes reality and unreality to reproduce an artist's world; Witold Gombrowicz is represented by an existentialist story, "Premeditated Crime"; Jozef Mackiewicz's "Adventures of an Imp" is an allegory; Jerzy Zawieyski's ("The President Calls") and Marek Hlasko's ("The Most Sacred Word of Our Life") stories are examples of work done since Stalin's death; though different in tone and subject, both are literature of protest. Olga Sherer-Virski's introduction gives a summary and analysis of the work of these writers, so that each piece in the volume may

be seen within the context of the major portion of the individual artist's style, subject interests, and philosophy. The stories are preceded by short autobiographies of the authors and in some instances of the translators.

**Poland, Its People, Its Society, Its Culture,** by Clifford Barnett (HRAF Press, \$7.50). One in the series of Survey of World Cultures edited by Thomas Fitzsimmons, this volume is the result of a collaboration by seven scholars. The authors do not offer a definitive analysis of any of the topics covered, but wish to provoke questions and arouse discussion of material where other works have failed to do so, and to open up areas for further research and exploration. Their work combines the methods and approaches of the various social sciences represented by the authors—political, historical, economic, and sociological—and the several disciplines are applied to official pronouncements and information gathered from Polish informants. While the book is concerned primarily with contemporary Poland, approximately one quarter of the text establishes the historical, ethnic, religious, geographic, and cultural background. 9 maps, diagrams, 30 tables, 8 pages of bibliographical suggestions for further reading. Index. (A soft cover edition is published by Grove Press, price \$2.45.)

**Foreign Policy: The Next Phase,** by Thomas K. Finletter (Harper, \$3.50). A publication of the Council on Foreign Relations. This is a plea for repair of past and present mistakes in American foreign policy, and for the constructive use of resources to prevent possible annihilation during an atomic and nuclear war. The author believes that the launching of the Russian sputniks had a salutary effect on Western thinking. It defined the nature of the "next phase" of world history, he says, and it forced the United States and other members of the free world to face for the first time the problem of attacking the instrument of world destruction—war itself. The book examines United States actions from the end of World War II to the launching of the sputniks, and considers policies necessary to cope with the problems of the "next phase." Mr. Finletter was a wartime aide to Cordell Hull, the head of the Marshall Plan mission to Britain, and Secretary of the Air Force under President Truman. Index.

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